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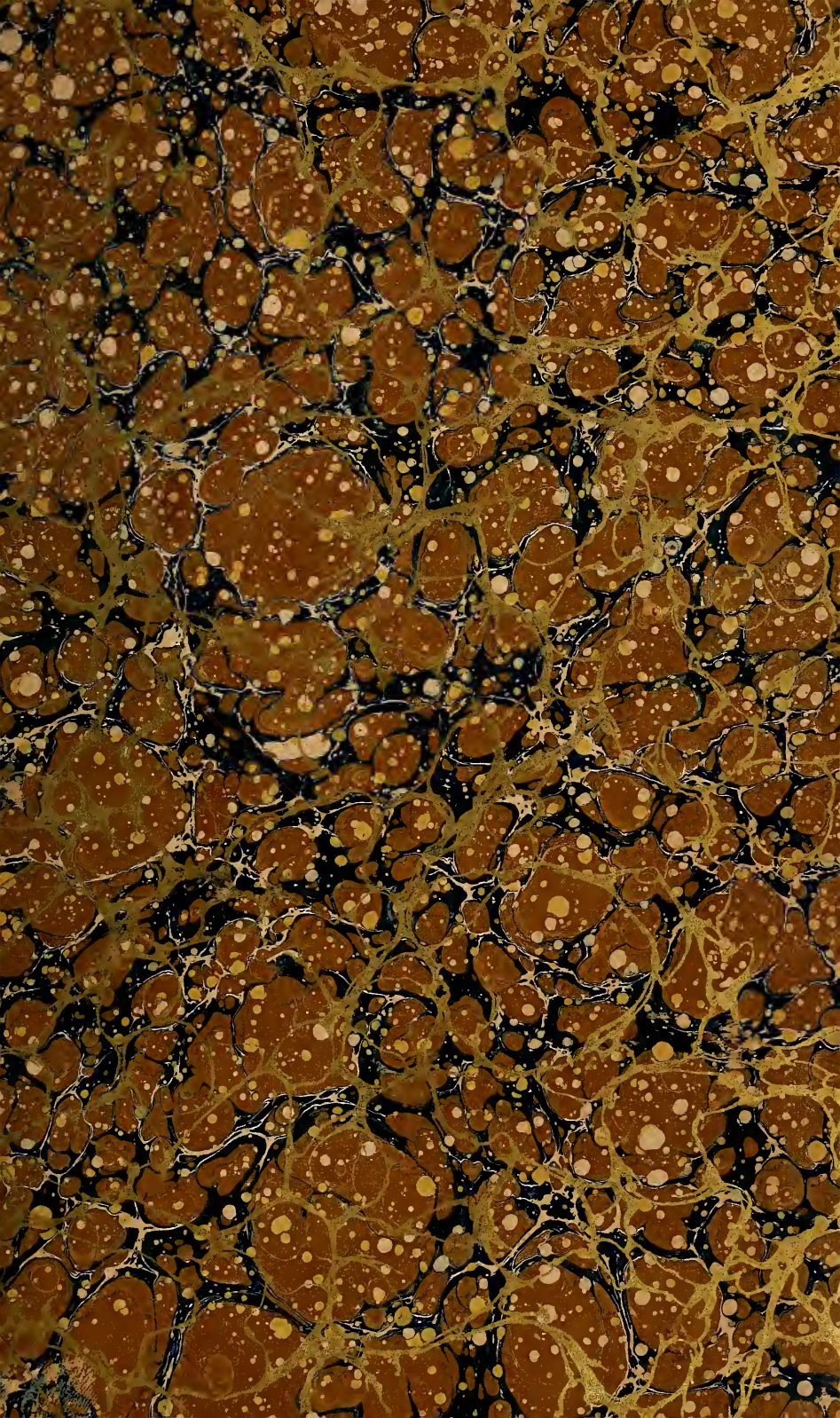

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MEMOIRS

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

Hailes pinx.t — T. Thomson sculp.t

ELIZABETH PEPYS.

From the original in the possession of S. Pepys Esq.

Published by Henry Colburn, London, Dec.r 1828

MEMOIRS

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY

IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

COMPRISING

HIS DIARY

FROM 1659 TO 1669,

DECIPHERED BY THE REV. JOHN SMITH, A.B.

FROM THE ORIGINAL SHORT-HAND MS. IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

AND A SELECTION FROM HIS

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

EDITED BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

SECOND EDITION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

DIARY.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1828.

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DIARY.

1662-3.] FEBRUARY 18th. Mr. Hater and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last; and all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of 374,743*l.* a-year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation; but I know not any thing what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. This day I read the King's speech to the Parliament yesterday; which is very short, and not very obliging; but only telling them his desire to have a power of indulging tender consciences, and that he will yield to have any mix-

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ture in the uniformity of the Church's discipline; and says the same for the Papists, but declares against their ever being admitted to have any offices or places of trust in the kingdom; but, God knows, too many have.

21st. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes (most of the rest being at the Parliament-house,) all the morning answering petitions and other business. Towards noon there comes a man as if upon ordinary business, and shows me a writ from the Exchequer, called a Commission of Rebellion, and tells me that I am his prisoner in Field's business; which methought did strike me to the heart, to think that we could not sit in the middle of the King's business. I told him how and where we were employed, and bid him have a care; and perceiving that we were busy, he said he would, and did withdraw for an houre: in which time Sir J. Minnes took coach and to Court, to see what he could do from thence; and our solicitor against Field come by chance and told me that he would go and satisfy the fees of the Court, and would end the business. So he went away about that, and I staid in my closet, till by and by the man and four more of his fellows come to know what I would do; and I told them to stay till I heard from the King or my Lord Chief

Baron, to both whom I had now sent. With that they consulted, and told me that if I would promise to stay in the house, they would go and refresh themselves, and come again, and know what answer I had: so they away, and I home to dinner. Before I had dined, the bayleys come back again with the constable, and at the office knock for me, but found me not there; and I hearing in what manner they were come, did forbear letting them know where I was; so they stood knocking and enquiring for me. By and by at my parler-window comes Sir W. Batten's Mungo, to tell me that his master and lady would have me come to their house through Sir J. Minnes's lodgings, which I could not do; but, however, by ladders, did get over the pale between our yards and their house, where I found them (as they have reason) to be much concerned for me, my lady, especially. The fellows staid in the yard swearing with one or two constables, and some time we locked them into the yard, and by and by let them out again, and so kept them all the afternoon, not letting them see me, or know where I was. One time I went up to the top of Sir W. Batten's house, and out of one of their windows spoke to my wife out of one of ours; which methought, though I did it in mirth, yet I was sad to think

what a sad thing it would be for me to be really in that condition. By and by comes Sir J. Minnes, who (like himself and all that he do) tells us that he can do no good, but that my Lord Chancellor wonders that we did not cause the seamen to fall about their eares: which we wished we could have done without our being seen in it; and Captain Grove being there, he did give them some affront, and would have got some seamen to have drubbed them, but he had not time, nor did we think it fit to have done it, they having executed their commission; but there was occasion given that he did draw upon one of them who did complain that Grove had pricked him in the breast, but no hurt done; but I see that Grove would have done our business to them if we had bid him. By and by comes Mr. Clerke, our sollicitor, who brings us a release from our adverse atturney, we paying the fees of the commission, which comes to five markes, and the charges of these fellows, which are called the commissioners, but are the most rake-shamed rogues that ever I saw in my life; so he showed them this release, and they seemed satisfied, and went away with him to their atturney to be paid by him. But before they went, Sir W. Batten and my lady did begin to taunt them, but the

rogues answered them as high as themselves, and swore they would come again, and called me rogue and rebel, and they would bring the sheriffe and untile his house, before he should harbour a rebel in his house, and that they would be here again shortly. Well, at last they went away, and I by advice took occasion to go abroad, and walked through the street to show myself among the neighbours, that they might not think worse than the business is. I home to Sir W. Batten's again, where Sir J. Lawson, Captain Allen, Spragg,* and several others, and all our discourse about the disgrace done to our office to be liable to this trouble, which we must get removed. Hither comes Mr. Clerke by and by, and tells me that he hath paid the fees of the Court for the commission; but the men are not contented with under 5*l.* for their charges, which he will not give them, and therefore advises me not to stir abroad till Monday that he comes or sends to me again, whereby I shall not be able to go to White Hall to the Duke of York, as I ought. Here I

* Afterwards Sir Edward Spragg, a distinguished naval commander, who perished in a boat, which was sunk during an action with Van Tromp, in 1673, whilst he was preparing to hoist his flag on board a third ship, having previously lost two in the engagement.

staid vexing, and yet pleased to see every body for me; and so home, where my people are mightily surprized to see this business, but it troubles me not very much, it being nothing touching my particular person or estate. Sir W. Batten tells me that little is done yet in the Parliament-house, but only this day it was moved and ordered that all the members of the House do subscribe to the renouncing of the Covenant, which it is thought will try some of them. There is also a bill brought in for the wearing of nothing but cloth or stuffs of our own manufacture, and is likely to be passed. Among other talk this morning, my lady did speak concerning Commissioner Pett's calling the present King bastard, and other high words heretofore; and Sir W. Batten did tell us, that he did give the Duke and Mr. Coventry an account of that and other like matters in writing under oath, of which I was ashamed, and for which I was sorry.

22d (Lord's-day.) Went not out all the morning; but after dinner to Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's, where discoursing much of yesterday's trouble and scandal; but that which troubled me most was Sir J. Minnes coming from Court at night, and instead of bringing great comfort from

thence, (but I expected no better from him,) he tells me that the Duke and Mr. Coventry make no great matter of it.

23d. Up by times; and not daring to go by land, did (Griffin going along with me for fear,) slip to White Hall by water; where to Mr. Coventry, and, as we used to do, to the Duke; the other of my fellows being come. But we did nothing of our business, the Duke being sent for to the King, that he could not stay to speak with us. This morning come my Lord Windsor* to kiss the Duke's hand, being returned from Jamaica. He tells the Duke, that from such a degree of latitude going thither he began to be sick, and was never well till his coming so far back again, and then presently begun to be well. He told the Duke of their taking the fort of St. Jago, upon Cuba, with his men; but upon the whole, I believe, that he did matters like a young lord, and was weary of being upon service out of his own country, where he might have pleasure. For methought it was a shame to see him this very afternoon, being the first day of his coming to town, to be at a playhouse. To my Lord Sandwich: it

* Created Earl of Plymouth, 6th December, 1682.

was a great trouble to me (and I had great apprehensions of it) that my Lord desired me to go to Westminster Hall, to the Parliament-house door, about business; and to Sir Wm. Wheeler,* which I told him I would, but durst not go for fear of being taken by these rogues; but was forced to go to White Hall and take boat, and so land below the Tower at the Iron-gate, and so the back way over Little Tower Hill; and with my cloak over my face, took one of the watermen along with me, and staid behind our garden-wall, while he went to see whether any body stood within the Merchants' Gate. But there was nobody, and so I got safe into the garden, and coming to open my office door, something behind it fell in the opening, which made me start. So that God knows in what a sad condition I should be if I were truly in debt: and therefore ought to bless God that I have no such reall reason, and to endeavour to keep myself, by my good deportment and good husbandry, out of any such condition. At home I find, by a note that Mr. Clerke in my absence hath left here, that I am free; and that he hath stopped all matters in Court; and I was very glad

* M. P. for Queenborough.

of it. We took coach and to Court, and there saw "The Wilde Gallant,"* performed by the King's house, but it was ill acted. The King did not seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor any body else. My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Steward.† Mrs. Wells do appear at Court again, and looks well; so that, it may be, the late report of laying the dropped child to her was not true. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents, made him by the peers, given to her, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewells than the Queene and Duchesse put both together.

24th. Among other things, my Lord [Sandwich] tells me, that he hears the Commons will not agree to the King's late declaration, nor will yield that the Papists have any ground given them to raise themselves up again in England, which I perceive by my Lord was expected at Court.

25th. The Commons in Parliament, I hear,

* A Comedy by Dryden.

† Frances, daughter of Walter Stewart, son of Lord Blantyre, married Charles, fifth Duke of Richmond, and died 1702.

are very high to stand to the Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge the Papists (which is endeavoured by the Court Party,) nor the Presbyters.

26th. Sir W. Batten and I by water to the Parliament-house: he went in, and I walked up and down the Hall. All the newes is the great oddes yesterday in the votes between them that are for the Indulgence to the Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30. And pretty it is to consider how the King would appear to be a stiff Protestant and son of the Church; and yet willing to give a liberty to these people, because of his promise at Breda. And yet all the world do believe that the King would not have the liberty given them at all.

27th. About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I walked to Chyrurgeon's Hall, (we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there;) where we were led into the Theatre: and by and by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne,* with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner: and all being settled, he begun his lecture; and

* Christopher Terne, of Leyden, M. D., originally of Cambridge, and Fellow of the College of Physicians. Ob. 1673.

his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Phisique, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII. to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the Company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions, (of his own preparing,) not for honour only, but it being soft and sleek it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently: whereas, a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. To Sir W. Batten's to

speak upon some business, where I found Sir J. Minnes pretty well fuddled I thought: he took me aside to tell me how being at my Lord Chancellor's to-day, my Lord told him that there was a Great Seal passing for Sir W. Pen, through the impossibility of the Comptroller's duty to be performed by one man; to be as it were joynt-comptroller with him, at which he is stark mad; and swears he will give up his place. For my part, I do hope, when all is done, that my following my business will keep me secure against all their envys. But to see how the old man do strut, and swear that he understands all his duty as easily as crack a nut, and easier, he told my Lord Chancellor, for his teeth are gone; and that he understands it as well as any man in England; and that he will never leave to record that he should be said to be unable to do his duty alone; though, God knows, he cannot do it more than a child.

28th. The House have this noon been with the King to give him their reasons for refusing to grant any indulgence to Presbyters or Papists; which he, with great content and seeming pleasure, took, saying, that he doubted not but he and they should agree in all things, though there may seem a difference in judgements, he having writ

and declared for an indulgence: and that he did believe never prince was happier in a House of Commons, than he was in them. At the Privy Seale I did see the docquet by which Sir W. Pen is made the Comptroller's assistant, as Sir J. Minnes told me last night.

March 3d. This afternoon Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the Indulgence; which I am sorry for, and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby, and spoke with my cousin Roger, who is going to Cambridge to-morrow. In the Hall I do hear that the Catholiques are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and the people, that is the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King; so that they say the English interest will be lost there.

6th. This day it seems the House of Commons have been very high against the Papists, being incensed by the stir which they make for their having an Indulgence; which, without doubt, is a great folly in them to be so hot upon at this time, when they see how averse already the

House have showed themselves from it. This evening Mr. Povy tells me that my Lord Sandwich is this day so ill that he is much afraid of him, which puts me to great pain, not more for my own sake than for his poor family's.

7th. Creed told me, how for some words of my Lady Gerard's,* against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queene, the King did the other day apprehend her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queene by the King; which is much talked of, my Lord her husband being a great favourite.

8th. (Lord's-day.) To White Hall to-day: I heard Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, make a good and eloquent sermon upon these words, "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Whence (the chapel in Lent being hung with black, and no anthem sung after sermon, as at other times,) to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W. Wheeler's. I found him out of order, thinking himself to be in a fit of ague. After dinner up to my Lord, there being Mr. Rumball. My Lord, among other discourse, did tell us of his great dif-

* Vide Note, page 362.

ficultys passed in the business of the Sound, and of his receiving letters from the King there, but his sending them by Whetstone was a great folly; and the story how my Lord being at dinner with Sydney,* one of his fellow plenipotentiarys and his mortal enemy, did see Whetstone, and put off his hat three times to him, and the fellow would not be known, which my Lord imputed to his coxcombly humour, (of which he was full) and bid Sydney take notice of him too, when at the very time he had letters † in his pocket from the King, as it proved afterwards. And Sydney afterwards did find it out at Copenhagen, the Dutch Commissioners telling him how my Lord Sandwich had desired one of their ships to carry back Whetstone to Lubeck, he being come from Flanders from the King. But I cannot but remember my Lord's æquanimity in all these affairs with admiration.

9th. About noon Sir J. Robinson, Lord Mayor, desiring way through the garden from the Tower, called in at the office and there invited me (and Sir W. Pen, who happened to be in the way) to

* The famous Algernon Sydney, one of the Ambassadors sent to Sweden and Denmark by Richard Cromwell.

† These letters are in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. One was from the King, the other from Chancellor Hyde.

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dinner, and we did go. And there had a great Lent dinner of fish, little flesh. There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby * of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces both gold and silver (examples of them all) that were made for the King, by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons, † and of the King by one Rotyr, ‡ a German, I think, that dined with us also. He extolls those of Rotyr above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The crownes of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25*s.* and 30*s.* a-piece.

16th. To the Duke where we met of course, and talked of our Navy matters. Then to the Commission of Tangier, and there had my Lord Peterborough's Commission read over; and Mr. Secretary Bennet did make his querys upon it, in

* Master of the Mint, frequently mentioned by Evelyn.

† Thomas Simon, an engraver of coins and medals.

‡ There were three brothers named Rotier, all Medallists; Philip introduced the likeness of Mrs. Stewart in the figure of Britannia.

order to the drawing one for my Lord Rutherford more regularly, that being a very extravagant thing. Here long discoursing upon my Lord Rutherford's despatch, and so broke up. Mr. Coventry and I discoursed how the Treasurer doth intend to come to pay in course, which is the thing of the world that will do the King the greatest service in the Navy, and which joys my heart to hear of. He tells me of the business of Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Pen; which, he said, was chiefly to make Mr. Pett's being joyned with Sir W. Batten to go down the better. And how he well sees that neither one nor the other can do their duties without help.

17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty come, and the rest of the Doctors of the Civill law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge, given by Dr. Exton,* which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetoricall, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other

* Sir Thomas Exton, Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Admiralty Court.

over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy, (as to its rising again) and their design and consultation was, I could overhear them, how to proceed with the most solemnity, and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time. Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's, where we found my Lord with Colonel Strangways * and Sir Richard Floyd,† Parliament-men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by come in Sir Richard Ford. We had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford a very able man of his brains and tongue, and a scholler. But my Lord Mayor a talking, bragging, buffleheaded fellow, that would be thought to have led all the City in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plot, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but led them and plowed with them as oxen and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcombe as I could have

* Giles Strangways, M. P. for Dorsetshire.

† Probably Sir Richard Lloyd, M. P. for Radnorshire.

thought had been in the City. But he is resolved to do great matters in pulling down the shops quite through the City, as he hath done in many places, and will make a thorough passage quite through the City, through Canning-street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vain-glory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carrmen affronting of the gentry in the street; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it though it be printed. Here we staid talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but, however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind to-morrow he will be of another opinion; and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he rants, and pretends to sway all the City in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor will he suffer them to do, any thing

but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the City but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the City for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the City shall not dare to stir again. When I am confident there is no man almost in the City cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

20th. Meeting with Mr. Kirton's kinsman in Paul's Church Yard, he and I to a coffee-house; where I hear how there had like to have been a surprizall of Dublin by some discontented protestants, and other things of like nature; and it seems the Commissioners have carried themselves so high for the Papists that the others will not endure it. Hewlett and some others are taken and clapped up; and they say the King hath sent over to dissolve the Parliament there, who went very high against the Commissioners. Pray God send all well!

21st. By appointment our full board met, and Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Robert Long come from my Lord Treasurer to speak with us about the state of the debts of the Navy; and how to settle it, so as to begin upon the new foundation

of 200,000*l.* per annum, which the King is now resolved not to exceed.

22d. (Lord's-day.) Wrote out our bill for the Parliament about our being made Justices of Peace in the City. So to church, where a dull formall fellow that prayed for the Right Hon. John Lord Barkeley, Lord President of Connaught, &c. To my Lord Sandwich, and with him talking a good while; I find the Court would have this Indulgence go on, but the Parliament are against it. Matters in Ireland are full of discontent.

29th. After dinner in comes Mr. Moore, and sat and talked with us a good while; among other things telling me, that neither my Lord nor he are under apprehensions of the late discourse in the House of Commons, concerning resumption of Crowne lands.

April 1st. I went to the Temple to my Cozen Roger Pepys, to see and talk with him a little; who tells me that, with much ado, the Parliament do agree to throw down Popery: but he says it is with so much spite and passion, and an endeavour of bringing all Non-conformists into the same condition, that he is afraid matters will not yet go so well as he could wish.

2d. Sir W. Pen told me, that this day the

King hath sent to the House his concurrence wholly with them against the Popish priests, Jesuits, &c. which gives great content, and I am glad of it.

3d. To the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but 7000*l.* per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring is 5300*l.* The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be 13,000*l.*; besides 1000*l.* a-year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencys, which puts us to a great stand. I find at Court that there is some bad news from Ireland of an insurrection of the Catholiques there, which puts them into an alarme. I hear also in the City that for certain there is an embargo upon all our ships in Spayne, upon this action of my Lord Windsor's at Cuba, which signifies little or nothing, but only he hath a mind to say that he hath done something before he comes back again.

4th. After dinner to Hide Parke; at the Parke was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they greeting one another at every turn.

8th. By water to White Hall, to chapel; where preached Dr. Pierce, the famous man that preached the sermon so much cried up, before the King against the Papists. His matter was the Devil tempting our Saviour, being carried into the Wilderness by the spirit. And he hath as much of natural eloquence as most men that ever I heard in my life, mixed with so much learning. After sermon I went up and saw the ceremony of the Bishop of Peterborough's paying homage upon the knee to the King, while Sir H. Bennet, Secretary, read the King's grant of the Bishopric of Lincolne, to which he is translated. His name is Dr. Lany.* Here I also saw the Duke of Monmouth, with his Order of the Garter, the first time I ever saw it. I hear that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and banquet; and made him Master of Arts there. All which, they say, the King took very well. Dr. Raynbow,† Master of Magdalene, being now Vice-Chancellor.

* Benjamin Lany, S. T. P., made Bishop of Peterborough 1660, translated to Lincoln 1662-3, and to Ely 1667.

† Edward Rainbow, chaplain to the King, and Dean of Peterborough, and in 1664 Bishop of Carlisle. Ob. 1684.

12th. (Lord's-day.) Coming home to-night, a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to handsel them.

14th. Sir G. Carteret tells me to-night that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things in question; and, above all, the expences of the Navy; and do enquire into the King's expences everywhere, and into the truth of the report of people being forced to sell their bills at 15 per cent. losse in the Navy; and, lastly, that they are in a very angry pettish mood at present, and not likely to be better.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-sopps and fish; the only time that we have had a Lenten dinner all this Lent. To Paul's Church Yard, to cause the title of my English "Mare Clausum" to be changed, and the new title, dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen dedicated to the Commonwealth.

20th. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes to my Lord Treasurer's, thinking to have spoken about getting money for paying the Yards; but we found him with some ladies at cards: and so, it being a bad time to speak, we parted. This

day the little Duke of Monmouth was marryed at White Hall, in the King's chamber; and to-night is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings, near Charing-Cross. I observed his coate at the tail of his coach: he gives the arms of England, Scotland, and France, quartered upon some other fields, but what it is that speaks his being a bastard I know not.

25th. I did hear that the Queene is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he having not supped once with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine; who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and come home with him last night; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her own home to a chamber in White Hall, next to the King's owne; which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.

27th. By water to White Hall; but found the Duke of York gone to St. James's for this summer; and thence with Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke's closet. And a good while with him about Navy business; and so I to White Hall, and there a long while with my Lord Sandwich discoursing about his debt to the Navy,

wherein he hath given me some things to resolve him in.

The Queene (which I did not know,) it seems was at Windsor, at the late St. George's feast there; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her with his hat in his hand, the King came in and kissed him, and made him put on his hat, which every body took notice of.

28th. To Chelsey, where we found my Lord all alone with one joynt of meat at dinner, and mightily extolling the manner of his retirement, and the goodness of his diet: the mistress of the house hath all things most excellently dressed; among others her cakes admirable, and so good that my Lord's words were, they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine. From ordinary discourse my Lord fell to talk of other matters to me, of which chiefly the second part of the fray, which he told me a little while since of, between Mr. Edward Montagu and himself; that he hath forborn coming to him almost two months, and do speak not only slightly of my Lord every where, but hath complained to my Lord Chancellor of him, and arrogated all that ever my Lord hath done to be only by his direction and persuasion. Whether he hath done the like to the King

or no, my Lord knows not; but my Lord hath been with the King since, and finds all things fair; and my Lord Chancellor hath told him of it, but he so much contemns Mr. Montagu, as my Lord knows himself very secure against any thing the fool can do; and notwithstanding all this, so noble is his nature, that he professes himself ready to show kindness and pity to Mr. Montagu on any occasion. My Lord told me of his presenting Sir H. Bennet with a gold cup of 100*l.*, which he refuses, with a compliment; but my Lord would have been glad he had taken it, that he might have had some obligations upon him which he thinks possible the other may refuse to prevent it; not that he hath any reason to doubt his kindness. But I perceive great differences there are at Court; and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lord Bristol, and their faction, are likely to carry all things before them, (which my Lord's judgement is, will not be for the best,) and particularly against the Chancellor, who, he tells me, is irrecoverably lost: but, however, that he do so not actually joyne in any thing against the Chancellor, whom he do own to be a most sure friend, and to have been his greatest; and therefore will not openly act in either, but passively carry himself even.

The Queene, my Lord tells me, he thinks he hath incurred some displeasure with, for his kindness to his neighbour my Lady Castlemaine. My Lord tells me he hath no reason to fall for her sake, whose wit, management, nor interest, is not likely to hold up any man, and therefore he thinks it not his obligation to stand for her against his own interest. The Duke and Mr. Coventry my Lord sees he is very well with, and fears not but they will show themselves his very good friends, specially at this time, he being able to serve them, and they needing him, which he did not tell me wherein. Talking of the business of Tangier, he tells me that my Lord Teviott is gone away without the least respect paid to him, nor indeed to any man, but without his commission; and (if it be true what he says) having laid out seven or eight thousand pounds in commodities for the place; and besides having not only disobliged all the Commissioners for Tangier, but also Sir Charles Barkeley the other day, who spoke in behalf of Colonel Fitz-Gerald, that having been deputy-governor there already, he ought to have expected and had the governorship upon the death or removal of the former Governor. And whereas it is said that he and his men are Irish, which is

indeed the main thing that hath moved the King and Council to put in Teviott to prevent the Irish having too great and the whole command there under Fitz-Gerald; he further said that there was never an Englishman fit to command Tangier; my Lord Teviott answered yes, there were many more fit than himself or Fitz-Gerald either. So that Fitz-Gerald being so great with the Duke of York, and being already made deputy-governor, independent of my Lord Teviott, and he being also left here behind him for a while, my Lord Sandwich do think, that, putting all these things together, the few friends he hath left, and the ill posture of his affairs, my Lord Teviott is not a man of the conduct and management that either people take him to be, or is fit for the command of the place. And here, speaking of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Barkeley, my Lord tells me that he do very much admire the good management, and discretion, and nobleness of the Duke, that however he may be led by him or Mr. Coventry singly in private, yet he did not observe that in public matters but he did give as ready hearing, and as good acceptance to any reasons offered by any other man against the opinions of them, as he did to them, and would concur in the prose-

cution of it. Then we come to discourse upon his own sea-accompts, and come to a resolution how to proceed in them; wherein, though I offered him a way of evading the greatest part of his debt honestly, by making himself debtor to the Parliament, before the King's time, which he might justly do, yet he resolved to go openly and nakedly in it, and put himself to the kindness of the King and Duke, which humour, I must confess, and so did tell him (with which he was not a little pleased) had thriven very well with him, being known to be a man of candid and open dealing, without any private tricks or hidden designs as other men commonly have in what they do. From that we had discourse of Sir G. Carteret, and of many others; and upon the whole I do find that it is a troublesome thing for a man of any condition at Court to carry himself even, and without contracting envy or envyers; and that much discretion and dissimulation is necessary to do it.

May 4th. To St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen and I staid for the Duke's coming in, but not coming, we walked to White Hall; and meeting the King, we followed him into the Parke, where Mr. Coventry and he talking of

building a new yacht out of his private purse, he having some contrivance of his own. The talk being done, we fell off to White Hall, leaving the King in the Park; and going back, met the Duke going towards St. James's to meet us. So he turned back again, and to his closet at White Hall; and there, my Lord Sandwich present, we did our weekly errand, and so broke up; and I to the garden with my Lord Sandwich, (after we had sat an hour at the Tangier Committee;) and after talking largely of his own businesses, we began to talk how matters are at Court: and though he did not flatly tell me any such thing, yet I do suspect that all is not kind between the King and the Duke, and that the King's fondness to the little Duke do occasion it; and it may be that there is some fear of his being made heire to the Crown. But this my Lord did not tell me, but is my guess only; and that my Lord Chancellor is without doubt falling past hopes.

5th. With Sir J. Minnes, he telling many old stories of the Navy, and of the state of the Navy at the beginning of the late troubles, and I am troubled at my heart to think, and shall hereafter cease to wonder, at the bad success of the King's cause, when such a knave as he (if it be true

what he says) had the whole management of the fleet, and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwicke,* and carrying the fleet to the King, wherein he failed most fatally to the King's ruine.

6th. To the Exchange with Creed, where we met Sir J. Minnes, who tells us, in great heat, that the Parliament will make mad work; that they will render all men incapable of any military or civil employment that have borne arms in the late troubles against the King, excepting some persons; which, if it be so, as I hope it is not, will give great cause of discontent, and I doubt will have but bad effects.

Sir Thomas Crewe this day tells me that the Queene, hearing that there was 40,000*l.* per annum brought into her account among the other expences of the Crown before the Committee of Parliament, she took order to let them know that she hath yet for the payment of her whole family received but 4000*l.*, which is a notable act of spirit, and I believe is true.

7th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him. He tells me of the order the House of

* Henry Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland; beheaded for putting himself in arms to aid Charles I.

Commons have made for the drawing an Act for the rendering none capable of preferment or employment in the State, but who have been loyall and constant to the King and Church; which will be fatal to a great many, and makes me doubt lest I myself, with all my innocence during the late times, should be brought in, being employed in the Exchequer; but, I hope, God will provide for me.

10th. Put on a black cloth suit, with white lynings under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. I walked to St. James's, and was there at masse, and was forced in the croud to kneel down: and masse being done, to the King's Head ordinary, where many Parliament-men; and most of their talk was about the news from Scotland, that the Bishop of Galloway was besieged in his house by some women, and had like to have been outraged, but I know not how he was secured; which is bad news, and looks as it did in the beginning of the late troubles. From thence they talked of rebellion; and I perceive they make it their great maxime to be sure to master the City of London, whatever comes of it or from it.

11th. With Sir W. Pen to St. James's, where we attended the Duke of York: and, among other things, Sir G. Carteret and I had a great dispute about the different value of the pieces of eight rated by Mr. Creed at 4*s.* and 5*d.*, and by Pitts at 4*s.* and 9*d.*, which was the greatest husbandry to the King? he proposing that the greatest sum was; which is as ridiculous a piece of ignorance as could be imagined. However, it is to be argued at the Board, and reported to the Duke next week; which I shall do with advantage, I hope. I went homeward, after a little discourse with Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court; and that the other day Dr. Clarke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased.

14th. Met Mr. Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborne; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again; and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady

Castlemaine's, to play at cards, where he lost 50*l.*; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose 50*l.* for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like.

15th. I walked in the Parke, discoursing with the keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball. Thence to Mr. Coventry; and sitting by his bedside, he did tell me that he did send for me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's allowances for his several pays, and what his thoughts are concerning his demands; which he could not take the freedom to do face to face, it being not so proper as by me: and did give me a most friendly and ingenuous account of all; telling me how unsafe, at this juncture, while every man's, and his actions particularly, are descanted upon, it is either for him to put the Duke upon doing, or my Lord himself to desire any thing extraordinary, 'specially the King having been so bountifull already; which the world takes notice of even to some repinings. All which he did

desire me to discourse to my Lord of; which I have undertaken to do. At noon by coach to my Lord Crewe's, hearing that my Lord Sandwich dined there; where I told him what had passed between Mr. Coventry and myself; with which he was contented, though I could perceive not very well pleased. And I do believe that my Lord do find some other things go against his mind in the House; for in the motion made the other day in the House by my Lord Bruce, that none be capable of employment but such as have been loyal and constant to the King and Church, that the General and my Lord were mentioned to be excepted; and my Lord Bruce did come since to my Lord, to clear himself that he meant nothing to his prejudice, nor could it have any such effect if he did mean it. After discourse with my Lord, to dinner with him; there dining there my Lord Montagu * of Boughton, Mr. William Montagu his brother, the Queene's Sollicitor, &c. and a fine dinner. Their talk about a ridiculous falling-out two days ago at my Lord of Oxford's house, at an entertainment of his, there being

* Edward, second Lord Mountagu of Boughton, in 1664 succeeded his father, who had been created a Baron by James I., and died 1683, leaving a son afterwards Duke of Mountagu.

there my Lord of Albemarle, Lynsey, two of the Porters, my Lord Bellasses, and others, where there were high words and some blows, and pulling off of perriwiggs; till my Lord Monk took away some of their swords, and sent for some soldiers to guard the house till the fray was ended. To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! After dinner, I went up to Sir Thomas Crewe, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizzinesse: and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon upon the unhappy posture of things at this time; that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice, and move him in any thing that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour. It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir

Charles Barkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again; there being now little for him to do, and he waits at Court attending to speak to the King as others do: which I pray God may prove of good effects, for it is feared it will be the same with my Lord Treasurer shortly. But strange to hear how my Lord Ashley, by my Lord Bristol's means, (he being brought over to the Catholique party against the Bishops, whom he hates to the death, and publicly rails against them; not that he is become a Catholique, but merely opposes the Bishops; and yet, for aught I hear, the Bishop of London keeps as great with the King as ever,) is got into favour, so much that, being a man of great business and yet of pleasure, and drolling too, he, it is thought, will be made Lord Treasurer upon the death or removal of the good old man.* My Lord Albemarle, I hear, do bear through and bustle among them, and will not be removed from the King's good opinion and favour, though none of the Cabinett; but yet he is envied enough. It is made very doubtful whether the King do not intend the

* The Earl of Southampton.

making of the Duke of Monmouth legitimate; but surely the Commons of England will never do it, nor the Duke of York suffer it, whose Lady I am told is very troublesome to him by her jealousy. No care is observed to be taken of the main chance, either for maintaining of trade or opposing of factions, which, God knows, are ready to break out, if any of them (which God forbid!) should dare to begin; the King and every man about him minding so much their pleasures or profits. My Lord Hinchingbroke, I am told, hath had a mischance to kill his boy by his birding-piece going off as he was a-fowling. The gun was charged with small shot, and hit the boy in the face and about the temples, and he lived four days. In Scotland, it seems, for all the news-books tell us every week that they are all so quiet, and every thing in the Church settled, the old woman had like to have killed, the other day, the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the Churches of the whole kingdom conform. Strange were the effects of the late thunder and lightning about a week since at Northampton, coming with great rain, which caused extraordinary floods in a few houres, bearing away bridges, drowning horses, men, and cattle. Two men passing over

a bridge on horseback, the arches before and behind them were borne away, and that left which they were upon: but, however, one of the horses fell over, and was drowned. Stacks of faggots carried as high as a steeple, and other dreadful things; which Sir Thomas Crewe showed me letters to him about from Mr. Freemantle and others, that it is very true. The Portugalls have choused us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay, in the East Indys; for after a great charge of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugall to receive it, the Governour by some pretence or other will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough;* which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queene will fare the worse for it. The Dutch decay there exceedingly, it being believed that their people will revolt from them there, and they forced to give over their trade. Sir Thomas showed me his picture and Sir Anthony Vandike's in crayon in little, done exceedingly well.

18th. I walked to White Hall, and into the Parke, seeing the Queene and Maids of Honour

* James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, killed in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, 1665.

passing through the house going to the Parke. But above all, Mrs. Stuart is a fine woman, and they say now a common mistress to the King, as my Lady Castlemaine is; which is a great pity.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr. Slingsby, and Mr. Howard, Controller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Controller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good discourse upon the business we have been upon. They now coyne between 16 and 24,000 pounds in a week. At dinner they did discourse very finely to us of the probability that there is a vast deal of money hid in the land, from this:——that in King Charles's time there was near ten millions of money coyned, besides what was then in being of King James's and Queene Elizabeth's, of which there is a good deal at this day in being. Next, that there was but 750,000*l.* coyned of the Harp and Crosse money, and of this there was 500,000*l.* brought in upon its being called in. And from very good arguments they find that there cannot be less of it in Ireland and Scotland than 100,000*l.*; so that there is but 150,000*l.* missing; and of that, sup-

pose that there should be not above 50,000*l.* still remaining, either melted down, hid, or lost, or hoarded up in England, there will then be but 100,000*l.* left to be thought to have been transported. Now, if 750,000*l.* in twelve years' time lost but a 100,000*l.* in danger of being transported, then 10,000,000*l.* in thirty-five years' time will have lost but 3,888,880*l.* and odd pounds; and as there is 650,000*l.* remaining after twelve years' time in England, so after thirty-five years' time, which was within this two years, there ought in proportion to have been resting 6,111,120*l.* or thereabouts, beside King James and Queene Elizabeth's money. Now, that most of this must be hid is evident, as they reckon, because of the dearth of money immediately upon the calling-in of the State's money, which was 500,000*l.* that come in; and then there was not any money to be had in this City, which they say to their own observation and knowledge was so. And therefore, though I can say nothing in it myself, I do not dispute it.

23d. To White Hall; where, in the Matted Gallery, Mr. Coventry was, who told us how the Parliament have required of Sir G. Carteret and him an account what money shall be necessary to

be settled upon the Navy for the ordinary charge, which they intend to report 200,000*l.* per annum. And how to allott this we met this afternoon, and took their papers for our perusal, and so parted.

24th. Meeting Mr. Lewis Phillips of Brampton, he and afterwards others tell me that news come last night to Court, that the King of France is sick of the spotted fever, and that they are struck in again; and this afternoon my Lord Mandeville is gone from the King to make him a visit; which will be great news, and of great import through Europe. By and by, in comes my Lord Sandwich: he told me this day a vote hath passed that the King's grants of land to my Lord Monk and him should be made good; which pleases him very much. He also tells me that things do not go right in the House with Mr. Coventry; I suppose he means in the business of selling places; but I am sorry for it.

27th. With Pett to my Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; where we met the auditors about settling the business of the accounts of persons to whom money is due before the King's time in the Navy, and the clearing of their imprests for what little of their debts they have received. I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready,

quiet, and diligent person. Roger Pepys tells me that the King hath sent to the Parliament to hasten to make an end by midsummer, because of his going into the country; so they have set upon four bills to dispatch: the first of which is, he says, too devilish a severe act against conventicles; so beyond all moderation, that he is afraid it will ruin all: telling me that it is matter of the greatest grief to him in the world, that he should be put upon this trust of being a Parliament-man, because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design. Then into the Great Garden up to the Banqueting House; and there by my Lord's glass we drew in the species * very pretty. Afterwards to ninepins, Creed and I playing against my Lord and Cooke.

28th. By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw "Hamlett" done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid?

* This word is here used as an optical term, and signifies the image painted on the retina of the eye, and the rays of light reflected from the several points of the surface of objects.

but neither spoke, danced, nor sung; which I was sorry for.

29th. This day is kept strictly as a holy-day, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill temper of the City at this time, either to religion in general, or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and those poor people. To the Duke's house, and there saw "The Slighted Mayde,"* wherein Gosnell acted Æromena, a great part, and did it very well. Then with Creed to see the German Princesse,† at the Gate-house, at Westminster,

31st. This month the greatest news is, the height and heat that the Parliament is in, in enquiring into the revenue, which displeases the Court, and their backwardness to give the King any money. Their enquiring into the selling of places do trouble a great many; among the chief, my Lord Chancellor (against whom particularly it is carried), and Mr. Coventry; for which I am sorry. The King of France was given out to

* A comedy, by Sir Robert Stapylton.

† Mary Carleton, of whom see more June 7 following, and April 15, 1664.

be poisoned and dead; but it proves to be the meazles: and he is well, or likely to be soon well again. I find myself growing in the esteem and credit that I have in the office, and I hope falling to my business again will confirm me in it.

June 1st. The Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand May-pole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three boutes at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all blunter on the edge, than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both

upon the stage between every boute. This day I hear at Court of the great plot which was lately discovered in Ireland, made among the Presbyters and others, designing to cry up the Covenant, and to secure Dublin Castle and other places; and they have debauched a good part of the army there, promising them ready money. Some of the Parliament there, they say, are guilty, and some withdrawn upon it; several persons taken, and among others a son of Scott's, that was executed here for the King's murder. What reason the King hath, I know not; but it seems he is doubtfull of Scotland: and this afternoon, when I was there, the Council was called extraordinary; and they were opening the letter this last post's coming and going between Scotland and us and other places. The King of France is well again.

2d. To St. James's, to Mr. Coventry; where I had an hour's private talk with him concerning his own condition, at present being under the censure of the House, being concerned with others in the Bill for selling of offices. He tells me, that though he thinks himself to suffer much in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of evil to hang over him; for that it is against no statute, as is pretended, nor more than what his predecessors

time out of mind have taken; and that so soon as he found himself to be in an errour, he did desire to have his fees set, which was done; and since that time he hath not taken a token more. He undertakes to prove, that he did never take a token of any captain to get him employed in his life beforehand, or demanded any thing: and for the other accusation, that the Cavaliers are not employed, he looked over the list of them now in the service, and of the twenty-seven that are employed, thirteen have been heretofore always under the King; two neutralls, and the other twelve men of great courage, and such as had either the King's particular commands, or great recommendation to put them in, and none by himself. Besides that, he sees it is not the King's nor Duke's opinion that the whole party of the late officers should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he confesses that the more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet; and that, whenever there comes occasion, it must be the old ones that must do any good. He tells me, that he cannot guess whom all this should come from; but he suspects Sir G. Carteret, as I also do, at least that he is pleased with it. But he tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to

be the first adviser and instructor of him what is to make his place of benefit to him; telling him that Smith did make his place worth 5000*l.* and he believed 7000*l.* to him the first year; besides something else greater than all this, which he forbore to tell me. It seems one Sir Thomas Tomkins* of the House, that makes many mad motions, did bring it into the House, saying that a letter was left at his lodgings, subscribed by one Benson, (which is a feigned name, for there is no such in the Navy,) telling how many places in the Navy have been sold. And by another letter, left in the same manner since, nobody appearing, he writes him that there is one Hughes and another Butler (both rogues, that have for their roguery been turned out of their places,) that will swear that Mr. Coventry did sell their places and other things. I offered him my service, and will with all my heart serve him; but he tells me he do not think it convenient to meddle, or to any purpose. To Westminster Hall, where I hear more of the plot from Ireland; which it seems hath been hatching, and known to the Lord Lieutenant a

* M. P. for Weobly, and one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak, for Herefordshire.

great while, and kept close till within three days that it should have taken effect.

4th. In the Hall a good while; where I heard that this day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon,* a man well spoken of by all for a good man, is dead; and the Bishop of London† is to have his seat. The match between Sir J. Cutts‡ and my Lady Jemimah,§ he says, is likely to go on; for which I am glad. In the Hall to-day Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queene begins to be briske, and play like other ladies, and is quite another woman from what she was. It may be, it may make the King like her the better, and forsake his two mistresses my Lady Castlemaine and Stewart.‖

6th. To York House, where the Russia Embassador do lie; and there I saw his people go up and down louseing themselves: they are all in a great hurry, being to be gone the beginning of

* William Juxon, made Bishop of London 1633, translated to Canterbury 1660.

† Gilbert Sheldon, who did succeed him.

‡ Of Childerley near Cambridge.

§ Lady Jemimah Montagu, daughter to the Earl of Sandwich.

‖ Spelt indiscriminately in the MS. Stuart, Steward, and Stewart.

next week. But that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place, in the door-cases and the windows. Sir John Hebden, the Russia Resident, did tell me how he is vexed to see things at Court ordered as they are by nobody that attends to business, but every man himself or his pleasures. He cries up my Lord Ashley to be almost the only man that he sees to look after business; and with the ease and mastery, that he wonders at him. He cries out against the King's dealing so much with goldsmiths, and suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them. He tells me also with what exact care and order the States of Holland's stores are kept in their Yards, and every thing managed there by their builders with such husbandry as is not imaginable; which I will endeavour to understand further.

7th. Mrs. Turner, who is often at Court, do tell me to-day that for certain the Queene hath much changed her humour, and is become very pleasant and sociable as any; and they say is with child, or believed to be so. After church to Sir W. Batten's; where my Lady Batten enveighed mightily against the German Princesse, and I as

high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the Sessions.

12th. To the Royal Theatre; and there saw "The Committee,"* a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge,† and his Lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the House began to fill she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself.

13th. To the Royal Theatre; and in our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also. Yesterday, upon conference with the King in the Banqueting House, the Parliament did agree with much ado, it being carried but by forty-two voices, that they would supply

* "The Committee," a comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

† Thos. Bellasses Viscount Falconberg, frequently called Falconbridge, married Mary, third daughter of Oliver Cromwell. She died 1712.

him with a sum of money; but what and how is not yet known, but expected to be done with great disputes the next week. But if done at all, it is well.

15th. To the Trinity House; where, among others, I found my Lords Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir Wm. Wheeler. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very scepticall. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil* in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and, they say, very true; but my Lord observes, that though he do answer to any tune that you will

* Joseph Glanville published a Relation of the famed disturbance at the house of Mr. Mompesson, at Tedworth, Wilts, occasioned by the beating of an invisible drum every night for a year. This story, which was believed at the time, furnished the plot for Addison's play of "The Drummer, or the Haunted House." In the "Mercurius Publicus," April 16-23, 1663, there is a curious examination on this subject, by which it appears that one William Drury, of Uscut, Wilts, was the invisible drummer.

play to him upon another drum, yet one time he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole; and I think it is a good argument.

16th. Dined with Sir W. Batten; who tells me that the House have voted the supply, intended for the King, shall be by subsidy.

17th. This day I met with Pierce the surgeon; who tells me that the King has made peace between Mr. Edward Montagu and his father Lord Montagu, and that all is well again; at which, for the family's sake, I am glad, but do not think it will hold long.

19th. To Lambeth, expecting to have seen the Archbishop lie in state; but it seems he is not laid out yet. At the Privy Seale Office examined the books, and found the grant of increase of salary to the principall officers in the year 1639, 300*l.* among the Controller, Surveyor, and Clerk to the Shippes. Met Captain Ferrers; who tells us that the King of France is well again, and that he saw him train his Guards, all brave men, at Paris; and that when he goes to his mistress, Madame La Valiere, a pretty little woman, now with child by him, he goes publicly, and his trumpets and kettle-drums with him; and yet he says

that, for all this, the Queene do not know of it, for that nobody dares to tell her; but that I dare not believe.

22d. To Westminster, where all along I find the shops evening with the sides of the houses, even in the broadest streets; which will make the City very much better than it was. It seems the House do consent to send to the King to desire that he would be graciously pleased to let them know who it was that did inform him of what words Sir Richard Temple* should say, which were to this purpose: "That if the King would side with him, or be guided by him and his party, that he should not lack money:" but without knowing who told it, they do not think fit to call him to any account for it. The Duke being gone a-hunting, by and by come in and shifted himself; he having in his hunting led his horse through a river up to his breast, and came so home: and being ready, we had a long discourse with him.

23d. To the office; and after an hour or two, by water to the Temple, to my cousen Roger; who, I perceive, is a deadly high man in the Par-

* Sir Richard Temple, of Stowe, Bart, M. P. for Buckingham, and K. B. Ob. 1694.

liament business, and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, above four millions of money since he come in: and in Sir J. Winter's case, in which I spoke to him, he is so high that he says he deserves to be hanged. To the 'Change; and by and by comes the King and the Queene by in great state, and the streets full of people. I stood in Mr. ———'s balcone. They dine all at my Lord Mayor's; but what he do for victuals, or room for them, I know not.

24th. To St. James's, and there an hour's private discourse with Mr. Coventry; he speaking of Sir G. Carteret slightly, and diminishing of his services for the King in Jersey; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the King, all the time he was there; and that it was always his humour to have things done his way. He brought an example how he would not let the Castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the town did offer to supply it more often themselves. Another thing he told me, how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profit as Admirall, and other things, toward

the building of a pier there. But it was never laid out, nor like to be. So it falling out that a lady being brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land to be joyned with him, the lady replied, "Why, let him choose; and if he will not be a godfather without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his own." He tells me, too, that he hath lately been observed to tack about at Court, and to endeavour to strike in with the persons that are against the Chancellor; but this he says of him, that he do not say nor do any thing to the prejudice of the Chancellor. But he told me that the Chancellor was rising again, and that of late Sir G. Carteret's business and employment hath not been so full as it used to be while the Chancellor stood up. From that we discoursed of the evil of putting out men of experience in business as the Chancellor, and of the condition of the King's party at present, who, as the Papists, though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law kept for these fourscore years out of employment, they are now wholly uncapable of business; and so the Cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for the most part

have either given themselves over to look after country and family business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery, &c.; and that was it that hath made him high against the late Bill brought into the House for the making all men incapable of employment that had served against the King. People, says he, in the sea-service, it is impossible to do any thing without them, there being not more than three men of the whole King's side that are fit to command almost; and these were Captn. Allen, Smith, and Beech;* and it may be Holmes, and Utber, and Batts might do something.

25th. Sir G. Carteret did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugall speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portuguese were never more courageous than now: for by an old prophecy sent thither some years though not many since from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and then their

* Probably Richard Beach, afterwards knighted, and in 1668 Commissioner at Portsmouth.

country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday come the very first news that in this very valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards.

26th. The House is upon the King's answer to their message about Temple, which is, that my Lord of Bristoll did tell him that Temple did say those words; so the House are resolved upon sending some of their members to him to know the truth, and to demand satisfaction if it be not true. Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lady Batten, and I by coach to Bednall Green, to Sir W. Rider's to dinner. A fine merry walk with the ladies alone after dinner in the garden: the greatest quantity of strawberrys I ever saw, and good. This very house* was built by the blind beggar of Bednall Green, so much talked of and sang in ballads; but they say it was only some of the outhouses of it. At table, discoursing of thunder and lightning, Sir W. Rider did tell a story of his own knowledge, that a Genoese gally in Legorne Roads was struck by thunder, so as the mast was broke a-pieces, and the shackle upon one of the slaves was melted clear off his leg without hurting his

* Called Kirby Castle, the property of Sir William Ryder, Knight, who died therein 1669.—*Lysons' Environs.*

leg. Sir William went on board the vessel, and would have contributed toward the release of the slave whom Heaven had thus set free, but he could not compass it, and so he was brought to his fetters again.

29th. Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugalls against the Spaniards, where 10,000 slain, 3 or 4000 taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, &c., and Don John* of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him.

30th. Public matters are in an ill condition: Parliament sitting and raising four subsidys for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants; and yet that parted withal with great hardness. They being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the public's paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court; which the King it is believed and hoped will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him; he expecting to have his 1,200,000*l.* made good to him, which is not yet done by above 150,000*l.* as he

* He was a natural son of Philip IV. King of Spain, who after his father's death in 1665 exerted his whole influence to overthrow the Regency appointed during the young King's minority.

himself reports to the House. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to 200,000*l.* per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customes. The King gets greatly taken up with Madam Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, which Heaven put an end to!

July 1st. Being in the Parliament lobby, I there saw my Lord of Bristoll come to the Commons House to give his answer to their question, about some words he should tell the King that were spoke by Sir Richard Temple. A chair was set at the bar of the House for him, which he used but little, but made an harangue of half an hour bareheaded, the House covered. His speech being done, he come out into a little room till the House had concluded of an answer to his speech; which they staying long upon, I went away. And by and by out comes Sir W. Batten; and he told me that his Lordship had made a long and a comedian-like speech, and delivered with such action as was not becoming his Lordship. He confesses he did tell the King such a thing of Sir Richard Temple, but that upon his honour the words were not spoke by Sir Richard, he having taken a liberty of enlarging to the King upon the discourse which had been between Sir

Richard and himself lately; and so took upon himself the whole blame, and desired their pardon, it being not to do any wrong to their fellow-member, but out of zeal to the King. He told them, among many other things, that as to religion he was a Roman Catholick, but such a one as thought no man to have right to the Crown of England but the Prince that hath it; and such a one as, if the King should desire counsel as to his own, he would not advise him to another religion than the old true reformed religion of this kingdom as it now stands; and concluded with a submission to what the House shall do with him, saying, that whatever they shall do,—"thanks be to God, this head, this heart, and this sword, (pointing to them all) will find me a being in any place in Europe." The House hath hereupon voted clearly Sir Richard Temple to be free from the imputation of saying those words; but when Sir William Batten come out, had not concluded what to say to my Lord, it being argued that to own any satisfaction as to my Lord from his speech, would be to lay some fault upon the King for the message he should upon no better accounts send to the impeaching of one of their members. Walking out, I hear

that the House of Lords are offended that my Lord Digby * should come to this House and make a speech there without leave first asked of the House of Lords. I hear also of another difficulty now upon him; that my Lord of Sunderland † (whom I do not know) was so near to the marriage of his daughter, as that the wedding-clothes were made, and portion and every thing agreed on and ready; and the other day he goes away nobody yet knows whither, sending her the next morning a release of his right or claim to her, and advice to his friends not to enquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough for it; and that he gives them liberty to say and think what they will of him, so they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her. To Sir W. Batten, to the Trinity House; and after dinner we fell a-talking, Mr. Batten telling us of a late triall of Sir Charles Sedley ‡ the other day, before my

* Digby, Earl of Bristol.

† Henry, fourth Lord Spence, and second Earl of Sunderland, Ambassador to Spain 1671. Ob. 1702.

‡ Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., celebrated for his wit and profligacy, and author of several plays. He is said to have been fined 500*l.* for this outrage. He was father to James II.'s mistress, created Countess of Dorchester, and died 1701.

Lord Chief Justice Foster* and the whole bench, for his debauchery a little while since at Oxford Kate's †. It seems my Lord and the rest of the Judges did all of them round give him a most high reproofe; my Lord Chief Justice saying, that it was for him, and such wicked wretches as he was, that God's anger and judgments hung over us, calling him sirrah many times. It seems they have bound him to his good behaviour (there being no law against him for it) in 5000*l.* It being told that my Lord Buckhurst was there, my Lord asked whether it was that Buckhurst that was lately tried for robbery; ‡ and when answered Yes, he asked whether he had so soon forgot his deliverance at that time, and that it would have more become him to have been at his prayers begging God's forgiveness, than now running into such courses again. This day I hear at dinner that Don John of Austria, since his flight out of Portugall, is dead of his wounds: so there is a great man gone, and a great dispute like to be indeed for the crown of Spayne, if the King should have died before

* Sir Robert Foster, Knt. Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Ob. 1663.

† The details in the original are too gross to print.

‡ See an account of this, February 22d, 1661-2.

him. My cousin Roger told us the whole passage of my Lord Digby to-day, much as I have said here above; only that he did say that he would draw his sword against the Pope himself, if he should offer any thing against his Majesty, and the good of these nations; and that he never was the man that did either look for a Cardinal's cap for himself, or any body else, meaning Abbot Montagu:* and the House upon the whole did vote Sir Richard Temple innocent; and that my Lord Digby hath cleared the honour of His Majesty, and Sir Richard Temple's, and given perfect satisfaction of his own respects to the House.

2d. Walking in the garden this evening with Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes, Sir G. Carteret told us with great content how like a stage-player my Lord Digby spoke yesterday, pointing to his head as my Lord did, and saying, "First, for his head," says Sir G. Carteret, "I know when a calfe's head would have done better by half: for

* Walter, second son to the first Earl of Manchester, embracing the Catholic religion while on his travels, was made Abbot of Ponthoise through the influence of Mary de'Medici: he afterwards became Almoner to the Queen-Dowager of England, and died 1670.

his heart and his sword, I have nothing to say to them." He told us that for certain his head cost the late King his, for it was he that broke off the treaty at Uxbridge. He told us also how great a man he was raised from a private gentleman in France by Monsieur Grandmont, and afterwards by the Cardinal, who raised him to be a Lieutenant-generall, and then higher; and entrusted by the Cardinal when he was banished out of France with great matters, and recommended by him to the Queene as a man to be trusted and ruled by: yet when he come to have some power over the Queene, he begun to dissuade her from her opinion of the Cardinal; which she said nothing to till the Cardinal * was returned, and then she told him of it; who told my Lord Digby, "Et bien, Monsieur, vous estes un fort bon amy donc:" but presently put him out of all; and then, from a certainty of coming in two or three years' time to be Mareschall of France, (to which all strangers, even Protestants, and those as often as French themselves, are capable of coming, though it be one of the greatest places in France,) he was driven to go out of France into Flanders; but

* Cardinal Mazarin.

there was not trusted, nor received any kindness from the Prince of Condé, as one to whom also he had been false, as he had been to the Cardinal and Grandmont. In fine, he told us that he is a man of excellent parts, but of no great faith nor judgment, and one very easy to get up to great height of preferment, but never able to hold it.

3d. Mr. Moore tells me great news that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired. He gives me no account of the reason, but that it is so: for which I am sorry; and yet if the King do it to leave off not only her but all other mistresses, I should he heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business. I hear my Lord Digby is condemned at Court for his speech, and that my Lord Chancellor grows great again. With Mr. Creed over the water to Lambeth; but could not see the Archbishop's hearse: so over the fields to Southwarke. I spent half an hour in St. Mary Overy's Church, where are fine monuments of great antiquity.

4th. Sir Allen Apsley* showed the Duke the

* Sir Allen Apsley, a faithful adherent to Charles I., after the Restoration was made Falconer to the King, and Almoner to the Duke of York, in whose regiment he bore a commission. He was in 1661 M. P. for Thetford, and died 1683.

Lisbon Gazette in Spanish, where the late victory is set down particularly, and to the great honour of the English beyond measure. They have since taken back Evora, which was lost to the Spaniards, the English making the assault, and lost not more than three men. Here I learnt that the English foot are highly esteemed all over the world, but the horse not so much, which yet we count among ourselves the best: but they abroad have had no great knowledge of our horse, it seems. To the King's Head ordinary; and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from Court, but knows not the reason; he told us of one wipe the Queene a little while ago did give her, when she come in and found the Queene under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: "I wonder your Majesty," says she, "can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?"—"I have so much reason to use patience," says the Queene, "that I can very well bear with it." He thinks it may be the Queene hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely. Thence with Creed to hire a coach to carry us to Hide Parke, to-day there being a general muster of the King's Guards, horse and foot: but they demand so high, that

I, spying Mr. Cutler the merchant, did take notice of him, and he going into his coach, and telling me that he was going to the muster, I asked and went along with him; where a goodly sight to see so many fine horses and officers, and the King, Duke, and others come by a-horseback, and the two Queenes in the Queene-Mother's coach, (my Lady Castlemaine not being there). And after long being there, I light, and walked to the place where the King, Duke, &c. did stand to see the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a French Marquisse (for whom this muster was caused) the goodness of our firemen; which indeed was very good, though not without a slip now and then: and one broadside close to our coach we had going out of the Park, even to the nearnesse as to be ready to burn our hairs. Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be. Thence with much ado out of the Park, and through St. James's down the waterside over to Lambeth, to see the Archbishop's corps, (who is to be carried away to Oxford on Monday,) but come too late. This day in the

Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standard written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipt for not knowing.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure.

7th. In Mr. Pett's garden I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning. Deane tells me what Mr. Pett did to-day, that my Lord Bristoll told the King that he will impeach the Chancellor of High Treason: but I find that my Lord Bristoll hath undone himself already in every body's opinion, and now he endeavours to raise dust to put out other men's eyes, as well as his own; but I hope it will not take, in consideration merely that it is hard for a Prince to spare an experienced old officer, be he never so corrupt; though I hope this man is not so, as some report him to be. He tells me that Don John is yet alive, and not killed, as was said, in the great victory against the Spaniards in Portugall of late.

9th. Sir W. Pen tells me, my Lady Castlemaine was at Court, for all this talk this week; but it seems the King is stranger than ordinary to her.

10th. I met Pierce the chirurgeon, who tells me that for certain the King is grown colder to my Lady Castlemaine than ordinary, and that he believes he begins to love the Queene, and do make much of her, more than he used to do. Mr. Coventry tells me that my Lord Bristoll hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords of High Treason. The chief of the articles are these: 1st. That he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it. 2d. That Dunkirke was also sold by his advice chiefly, so much to the damage of England. 3d. That he had 6000*l.* given him for the drawing-up or promoting of the Irish declaration lately, concerning the division of the lands there. 4th. He did carry on the design of the Portugall match, so much to the prejudice of the Crown of England, notwithstanding that he knew the Queene is not capable of bearing children. 5th. That the Duke's marrying of his daughter was a practice of his, thereby to raise his family; and that it was done

by indiscreet courses. 6th. As to the breaking-off of the match with Parma, in which he was employed at the very time when the match with Portugall was made up here, which he took as a great slur to him, and so it was; and that, indeed, is the chief occasion of all this fewde. 7th. That he hath endeavoured to bring in Popery, and wrote to the Pope for a cap for a subject of the King of England's (my Lord Aubigny*); and some say that he lays it to the Chancellor, that a good Protestant Secretary, (Sir Edward Nicholas) was laid aside, and a Papist, Sir H. Bennet, put in his room: which is very strange, when the last of these two is his own creature, and such an enemy accounted to the Chancellor, that they never did nor do agree; and all the world did judge the Chancellor to be falling from the time that Sir H. Bennet was brought in. Besides my Lord Bristoll being a Catholique himself, all this is very strange. These are the main of the Articles. Upon which my Lord Chancellor desired the noble Lord that brought in these Articles, would sign to them with his hand; which my Lord Bris-

* Brother to the Duke of Lennox, and Almoner to the King.

toll did presently. Then the House did order that the Judges should, against Monday next, bring in their opinion, Whether these articles are treason, or no? and next, they would know, Whether they were brought in regularly or no, without leave of the Lords' House?

11th. By barge to St. Mary's Creeke; where Commissioner Pett, (doubtful of the growing greatnesse of Portsmouth by the finding of those creekes there,) do design a wett docke at no great charge, and yet no little one; he thinks towards 10,000*l*. And the place, indeed, is likely to be a very fit place, when the King hath money to do it with.

13th. I walked to the Temple; and there, from my cousin Roger, hear that the Judges have this day brought in their answer to the Lords, That the articles against my Lord Chancellor are not Treason; and to-morrow they are to bring in their arguments to the House for the same. This day also the King did send by my Lord Chamberlain to the Lords, to tell them from him, that the most of the articles against my Lord Chancellor he himself knows to be false. I met the Queene-Mother walking in the Pell Mell, led by my Lord St. Alban's. And finding many coaches at the Gate, I found upon

enquiry that the Duchesse is brought to bed of a boy; and hearing that the King and Queene are rode abroad with the Ladies of Honour to the Parke, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also staid walking up and down. By and by the King and Queene, who looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoate and a crimson short pettycoate, and her hair dressed *à la negligence*) mighty pretty; and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; but the King took, methought, no notice of her; nor when she light, did any body press (as she seemed to expect, and staid for it,) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat, (which all took notice of,) and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy: nor did any body speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to any body. I followed them up into White Hall, and into the Queene's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my

life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress: nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.

14th. This day I hear the Judges, according to order yesterday, did bring into the Lords' House their reasons of their judgments in the business between my Lord Bristoll and the Chancellor; and the Lords do concur with the Judges that the articles are not Treason, nor regularly brought into the House, and so voted that a Committee should be chosen to examine them; but nothing to be done therein till the next sitting of this Parliament, (which is likely to be adjourned in a day or two,) and in the mean time the two Lords to remain without prejudice done to either of them.

15th. Captain Grove come and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchesse themselves; and

how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr. Coventry did report this of me.

21st. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22d. To my Lord Crewe's. My Lord not being come home, I met and staid below with Captn. Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St. James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child (a boy). In discourse of the ladies at Court, Captn. Ferrers tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is now as great again as ever she was; and that her going away was only a fit of her own upon some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a-hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a-hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queene at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited: but being at my

Lady Suffolk's,* her aunt's (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined,) yesterday, she was heard to say, "Well, much good may it do them, and for all that I will be as merry as they:" and so she went home and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queene at Wallingford House,† he come to my Lady Castlemaine's, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stewart, however, my Lady Castlemaine's nose will be out of joynt; for that she comes to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she. Wotten tells me the reason of Harris's‡ going from Sir Wm. Davenant's house is, that he grew very proud and demanded 20*l.* for himself extraordinary, more than Betterton or

* Barbara, second wife of James Earl of Suffolk, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, and widow of Sir Richard Wentworth. She died Dec. 1681, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Felton, Bart.

† Wallingford House stood on the site of the present Admiralty: it originally belonged to the Knollys family, and during the Protectorate the office for granting passes to persons going abroad was kept there.

‡ Joseph Harris, a celebrated actor, who first appeared at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1662. He probably died or left the stage about 1676.

any body else, upon every new play, and 10l. upon every revive; which with other things Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other House; but the King will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great loss to the House, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other House privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the King and every body else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton he being a more ayery man, as he is indeed. But yet Betterton, he says, they all say do act some parts that none but himself can do. I hear that the Moores have made some attaques upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviott, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off, and killed many of them. To-morrow the King and Queene for certain go down to Tunbridge. But the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

25th. Having intended this day to go to Banstead Downes to see a famous race, I sent Will. to get himself ready to go with me; but I hear it

is put off, because the Lords do sit in Parliament to-day. After some debate, Creed and I resolved to go to Clapham, to Mr. Gauden's.* When I come there, the first thing was to show me his house,† which is almost built. I find it very regular and finely contrived, and the gardens and offices about it as convenient and as full of good variety as ever I saw in my life. It is true he hath been censured for laying out so much money; but he tells me that he built it for his brother, who is since dead, (the Bishop,‡) who when he should come to be Bishop of Winchester, which he was promised, (to which bishopricke at present there is no house), he did intend to dwell here. By and by to dinner, and in comes Mr. Creed; I saluted his lady, and the young ladies, and his sister, the Bishop's widow; who was, it seems, Sir W. Russel's daughter, the Treasurer of the Navy; who I find to be very well-bred, and a woman of excellent discourse. Towards the evening we bade them Adieu! and took horse; being resolved that, instead of the race which fails us, we would go to Epsom. When we come there

* Dennis Gauden, Victualler to the Navy; subsequently knighted when Sheriff of London.

† Vide note, Vol. I. page 114.

‡ Of Exeter.

we could hear of no lodging, the town so full; but which was better, I went toward Ashsted, and there we got a lodging in a little hole we could not stand upright in. While supper was getting I walked up and down behind my cosen Pepys's house that was, which I find comes little short of what I took it to be when I was a little boy.

26th. (Lord's-day). Up and to the Wells, where a great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Thence I walked to Mr. Minnes's house, and thence to Durdan's and walked within the Court Yard and to the Bowling-green, where I have seen so much mirth in my time; but now no family in it, (my Lord Barkeley, whose it is, being with his family at London.) Then rode through Epsom, the whole town over, seeing the various companys that were there walking; which was very pleasant to see how they are there without knowing what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters. But Lord! to see how many I met there of citizens, that I could not have thought to have seen there; that they had ever had it in their heads or purses to go down thither. We went through Nonesuch Parke to the house, and there viewed as much as

we could of the outside, and looked through the great gates, and found a noble court; and altogether believe it to have been a very noble house, and a delicate parke about it, where just now there was a doe killed for the King to carry up to Court.

27th. We rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water (observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day) home, it being about one o'clock. By water to Westminster, and there come most luckily to the Lords' House as the House of Commons were going into the Lords' House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King (who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight); wherein he told his Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royall consent. The greatest matters were a bill for the Lord's day, (which it seems the Lords have lost, and so cannot be passed, at which the Commons are displeased.) The bills against Conventicles and Papists (but it seems the Lords have not passed them), and giving his Majesty four entire subsidys; which last, with about

twenty smaller Acts, were passed with this form: The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end and there finds (writ by the King I suppose) "Le Roy le veult," and that he reads. And to others he reads, "Soit fait comme vous desirez." And to the Subsidys, as well that for the Commons, I mean the layety, as for the Clergy, the King writes, "Le Roy remerciant les Seigneurs et Prelats et accepte leur benevolences." The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain (though good matter) as any thing could be, and void of elocution. After the bills passed, the King, sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it all the time he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidys, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or received them; and that need, not from any extravagancys of his, he was sure, in any thing, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be: and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour however to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all

others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c.; assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something to be done this summer. And promised that though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists, were not ripe for passing this Sessions, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this intervall be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills for them concerning them. So he concluded, that for the better proceeding of justice he did think fit to make this a Sessions, and to prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any; but rather on the contrary imperfectly, repeating many times his words though he read all: which I am sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the speech without booke. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, he being by and by to go to Tunbridge to the

Queene; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. By water to White Hall, and walked over the Parke to St. James's, but missed Mr. Coventry; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pell-Mell. It being a little darkish, I staid not to take notice of him, but went directly back again. And in our walk over the Parke, one of the Duke's footmen come running behind us, and come looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.

29th. To Deptford, reading by the way a most ridiculous play, a new one, called "The Politician cheated." *

30th. To Woolwich, and there come Sir G. Carteret, and then by water back to Deptford, where we dined with him at his house. I find his little daughter Betty,† that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two ago, and is a very little young child, married, and to whom, but to

* A comedy by Alexander Green.

† Her name was Caroline. Elizabeth died unmarried.

young Scott,* son to Madam Catharine Scott,† that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband; he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not own it, but it seems a little before his death he did owne the child, and hath left him his estate, not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about 2000*l.* per annum; and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means over-reached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means Sir G. Carteret hath married two daughters this year both very well.‡ The towne talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

31st. To the Exchange, where I met Dr.

* Thomas, eldest son of Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's Hall, in the parish of Smeeth, Kent.

† Prince Rupert was supposed to have intrigued with Mrs. Scott, and was probably the father of the child.

‡ The other daughter was Anne, wife of Sir Nicholas Slaning, K. B.

Pierce, who tells me of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy-Chamber to the Queene, and without my Lord Sandwich's help, but only by his good fortune, meeting a man that hath let him have his right for a small matter, about 60*l.* for which he can every day have 400*l.* But he tells me my Lord hath lost much honour in standing so long and so much for that coxcomb Pickering, and at last not carrying it for him; but hath his name struck out by the King and Queene themselves after he had been in ever since the Queene's coming. But he tells me he believes that either Sir H. Bennet, my Lady Castlemaine, or Sir Charles Barkeley had received some money for the place, and so the King could not disappoint them, but was forced to put out this fool rather than a better man. And I am sorry to hear what he tells me that Sir Charles Barkeley hath still such power over the King, as to be able to fetch him from the Council-table to my Lady Castlemaine when he pleases. He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by being so severe in the Yards, and contracting the ill-will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can

(nor do he say any say it,) charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who he tells me do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone, and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my own services. However, I will make use of his council, and take some course to prevent having the single ill-will of the office. Mr. Grant showed me letters of Sir William Petty's, wherein he says, that his vessel which he hath built upon two keeles, (a modell whereof, built for the King, he showed me) hath this month won a wager of 50*l.* in sailing between Dublin and Holyhead with the pacquett-boat, the best ship or vessel the King hath there; and he offers to lay with any vessel in the world. It is about thirty ton in burden, and carries thirty men, with good accommodation, (as much more as any ship of her burden,) and so any vessel of this figure shall carry more men, with better accommodation by half, than any other ship. This carries also ten guns, of about five tons weight. In their coming back from Holyhead they started together, and this ves-

sel come to Dublin by five at night, and the pacquett-boat not before eight the next morning; and when they come they did believe that this vessel had been drowned, or at least behind, not thinking she could have lived in that sea. Strange things are told of this vessel, and he concludes his letter with this position, "I only affirm that the perfection of sayling lies in my principle, finde it out who can."

August 8th. I with Mr. Coventry down to the water-side, talking, wherein I see so much goodness and endeavours of doing the King service, that I do more and more admire him.

9th. To church, and heard Mr. Mills (who is lately returned out of the country, and it seems was fetched in by many of the parishioners, with great state,) preach upon the authority of the ministers, upon these words, "We are therefore embassadors of Christ." Wherein, among other high expressions, he said, that such a learned man used to say, that if a minister of the word and an angell should meet him together, he would salute the minister first; which methought was a little too high. This day I begun to make use of the silver pen (Mr. Coventry did give me,) in writing of this sermon, taking only the heads of it in Latin, which I shall, I think, continue to do.

10th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Sandwich, my Lord Peterborough, (whom I have not seen before since his coming back,) Sir W. Compton, and Mr. Povy. Our discourse about supplying my Lord Teviott with money, wherein I am sorry to see, though they do not care for him, yet they are willing to let him for civility and compliment only have money almost without expecting any account of it; and he being such a cunning fellow as he is, the King is like to pay dear for our courtier's ceremony. Thence by coach with my Lords Peterborough and Sandwich to my Lord Peterborough's house; and there, after an hour's looking over some fine books of the Italian buildings, with fine cuts, and also my Lord Peterborough's bowes and arrows, of which he is a great lover, we sat down to dinner, my Lady * coming down to dinner also, and there being Mr. Williamson,† that belongs to Sir H. Bennet, whom I find a pretty understanding and accomplished

* Penelope, daughter of Barnabas, Earl of Thomond, Countess of Peterborough.

† Joseph Williamson, Keeper of the Paper Office at White Hall, and in 1665 made Under Secretary of State, and soon afterwards knighted: and in 1674 he became Secretary of State, which situation he retained four years. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several Parliaments, and was in 1678 President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1701.

man, but a little conceited. Yesterday, I am told, that Sir J. Lenthall,* in Southwarke, did apprehend about one hundred Quakers, and other such people, and hath sent some of them to the gaole at Kingston, it being now the time of the Assizes. Dr. Pierce tells me the Queene is grown a very debonnaire lady; but my Lady Castlemaine, who rules the King in matters of state, and do what she list with him, he believes is now falling quite out of favour. After the Queene is come back she goes to the Bath, and so to Oxford, where great entertainments are making for her. This day I am told that my Lord Bristoll hath warrants issued out against him, to have carried him to the Tower; but he is fled away, or hid himself. So much the Chancellor hath got the better of him.

13th. Met with Mr. Hoole † my old acquaintance of Magdalene, and walked with him an hour in the Parke, discoursing chiefly of Sir Samuel Morland, whose lady ‡ is gone into France. It

* Son to the Speaker, and Governor of Windsor Castle under Cromwell. Ob. 1681.

† William, son of Robert Hoole of Walkeringham, admitted of Magdalene College June 1648.

‡ Susanne de Milleville, daughter of Daniel de Milleville, Baron of Boessen in France, naturalized 1662. When she

seems he buys ground and a farm in that country, and lays out money upon building, and God knows what! so that most of the money he sold his pension of 500*l.* per annum for to Sir Arthur Slingsby,* is believed is gone. It seems he hath very great promises from the King, and Hoole hath seen some of the King's letters, under his own hand, to Morland, promising him great things; (and among others, the order of the Garter, as Sir Samuel says,) but his lady thought it below her to ask any thing at the King's first coming, believing the King would do it of himself, when as Hoole do really think if he had asked to be Secretary of State at the King's first coming, he might have had it. And the other day at her going into France, she did speak largely to the King herself, how her husband hath failed of what his Majesty had promised, and she was sure intended him; and the King did promise still, as he is a King and a gentleman, to be as good as his word in a little time, to a tittle: but I never believe it.

died I cannot learn, but Sir Samuel Morland survived a second and a third wife, both buried in Westminster Abbey.

* A younger son of Sir Guildford Slingsby, Comptroller of the Navy, knighted by Charles II., and afterwards created a Baronet at Brussels 1657, which title has long been extinct.

21st. Meeting with Mr. Creed he told me how my Lord Teviott hath received another attaque from Guyland at Tangier with 10,000 men, and at last, as is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him.

23d. To church, and so home to my wife; and with her read "Iter Boreale," * a poem, made first at the King's coming home; but I never read it before, and now like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up.

24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord; and I perceive he confides in me and loves me as he uses to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well: all I fear is that he will not live within compass. There come to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the City of Lisbon, which he measured with his own hand, and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have

* Robert Wild, a Nonconformist Divine, published a poem in 1660, upon Monk's march from Scotland to London, called "Iter Boreale," and Wood mentions three others of the same name by Eades, Corbett, and Marten, it having been a favourite subject at that time.

been better done than by Jobing. Besides I put him upon having some took off upon white sattin, which he ordered presently. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for 500*l.* and took a new one of him for 700*l.*, which I am by lending him more money to make up: and am glad of it.

25th. This noon going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall-street, and upon enquiry I find that he is the clerke of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor* begins again an old custome, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Aldermen in Moorefields yesterday: second day, shooting: and to-morrow hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems the people of the faire cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

26th. To White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going

* Sir John Frederic.

this day out towards the Bath. Pleased to see Captn. Hickes come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yard, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaverys; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear every where, that my name is up for a good husband to the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr. Coventry.

28th. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost they say abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

September 2d. To dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sick by not daring to drink wine. After dinner into a withdrawing-room; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword is at least a hundred or two hundred years old; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mournes, but properly is their Lenten sword to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that. Mr. Lewellin, lately come from Ireland, tells me how

the English interest falls mightily there, the Irish party being too great, so that most of the old rebells are found innocent, and their lands, which were forfeited and bought or given to the English, are restored to them; which gives great discontent there among the English. Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the piller set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City; and observed that this City is as well watered as any city in the world, and that the bringing of water to the City hath cost it first and last above 300,000*l.*; but by the new building, and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about (and which the City stomach I perceive highly, but dare not oppose it,) were it now to be done, it would not be done for a million of money.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and there bought the first news-books of L'Estrange's* writing, he beginning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning. This day I read a Proclamation for calling in and commanding every body to apprehend my Lord Bristoll.

* Roger L'Estrange, author of numerous pamphlets and periodical papers. He was Licenser of the Press to Charles II. and his successor; and M. P. for Winchester in James II.'s Parliament. Ob. 1704, aged 88.

5th. I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indys; both of the country, and the disappointment the King met with the last voyage, by the knavery of the Portugall Viceroy, and the inconsiderablenesse of the place of Bombaim,* if we had had it. But, above all things, it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out; and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queene's portion, should not be better understood; it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our King in the draught of it, but a poor little island; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believe that that, and other islands which are near it, were all one piece; and so the draught was drawn and presented to the King, and believed by the King, and expected to prove so when our men come thither; but it is quite otherwise.

12th. Up betimes, and by water to White Hall: and thence to Sir Philip Warwick, and there had half an hour's private discourse with him; and did give him some good satisfaction in our

* Bombay.

Navy matters, and he also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy; so as he makes me assured by particulars, that Sir G. Carteret is paid within 80,000*l.* every farthing that we owe to this day, nay to Michaelmas day next have demanded; and that, I am sure, is above 50,000*l.* more than truly our expences have been, whatever is become of the money. Home with great content that I have thus begun an acquaintance with him, who is a great man, and a man of as much business as any man in England; which I will endeavour to deserve and keep.

22d. This day the King and Queene are to come to Oxford. I hear my Lady Castlemaine is for certain gone to Oxford to meet him, having lain within here at home this week or two, supposed to have miscarried; but for certain is as great in favour as heretofore; at least Mrs. Sarah at my Lord's, who hears all from their own family, do say so. Every day brings news of the Turke's advance into Germany, to the awakeing of all the Christian Princes thereabouts, and possessing himself of Hungary.

24th. I went forth by water to Sir Philip Warwick's, where I was with him a pretty while; and in discourse he tells me, and made it appear to me, that the King cannot be in debt to the

Navy at this time 5000*l.*; and it is my opinion that Sir G. Carteret do owe the King money, and yet the whole Navy debt paid. Thence I parted, being doubtful of myself that I have not spoke with the gravity and weight that I ought to do in so great a business. But I rather hope it is my doubtfulness of myself, and the haste which he was in, some very great personages waiting for him without, while he was with me, that made him willing to be gone.

28th. To White Hall, where Sir J. Minnes and I did spend an hour in the Gallery, looking upon the pictures, in which he hath some judgement. And by and by the Commissioners for Tangier met: and there my Lord Teviott, together with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draught of the Mole to be built there; and report that it is likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will. After discourse of this, and of supplying the garrison with some more horse, we rose; and Sir J. Minnes and I home again, finding the street about our house full, Sir R. Ford beginning his shrievalty to-day: and, what with his and our houses being new painted,

the street begins to look a great deal better than it did, and more gracefull. News that the King comes to town for certain on Thursday next from his great progress.

30th. In the afternoon by water to White Hall, to the Tangier Committee; where my Lord Teviott; which grieves me to see that his accounts being to be examined by us, there are none of the great men at the Board that in compliment will except against any thing in them, and so none of the little persons dare do it: so the King is abused.

October 5th. My Lord Sandwich sent a messenger to know whether the King intends to come to Newmarket, as is talked, that he may be ready to entertain him at Hinchingbroke.

12th. At St. James's we attended the Duke all of us. And there, after my discourse, Mr. Coventry of his own accord begun to tell the Duke how he found that discourse abroad did run to his prejudice about the fees that he took, and how he sold places and other things; wherein he desired to appeal to his Highness, whether he did any thing more than what his predecessors did, and appealed to us all. So Sir G. Carteret did answer that some fees were heretofore taken, but what

he knows not; only that selling of places never was nor ought to be countenanced. So Mr. Coventry very hotly answered to Sir G. Carteret, and appealed to himself whether he was not one of the first that put him upon looking after this business of fees, and that he told him that Mr. Smith should say that he made 5000*l.* the first year, and he believed he made 7000*l.* This Sir G. Carteret denied, and said, that if he did say so he told a lie, for he could not, nor did know, that ever he did make that profit of his place; but that he believes he might say, 2500*l.* the first year. Mr. Coventry instanced in another thing, particularly wherein Sir G. Carteret did advise with him about the selling of the Auditor's place of the stores, when in the beginning there was an intention of creating such an office. This he confessed, but with some lessening of the tale Mr Coventry told, it being only for a respect to my Lord FitzHarding.* In fine, Mr. Coventry did put into the Duke's hand a list of above 250

* Sir Charles Berkeley, mentioned before, created Lord Berkeley of Rathdown and Viscount Fitzharding in Ireland, second son to Sir Charles Berkeley of Bruton, co. Somerset; afterwards made an English peer by the titles of Lord Botetourt and Earl of Falmouth, and killed in the great sea-fight, June 1665.

places that he did give without receiving one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for them, upon his life and oath; and that since the Duke's establishment of fees he had never received one token more of any man; and that in his whole life he never conditioned or discoursed of any consideration from any commanders since he come to the Navy. And afterwards, my Lord Barkeley merrily discoursing that he wished his profit greater than it was, and that he did believe that he had got 50,000*l.* since he come in, Mr. Coventry did openly declare that his Lordship, or any of us, should have not only all he had got, but all that he had in the world, (and yet he did not come a beggar into the Navy, nor would yet be thought to speak in any contempt of his Royall Highness's bounty,) and should have a year to consider of it too, for 25,000*l.* The Duke's answer was, that he wished we all had made more profit than we had of our places, and that we had all of us got as much as one man below stayres in the Court, which he presently named, and it was Sir George Lane.*

* One of the Clerks of the Privy Council, and Secretary to the Marquis of Ormond

13th. I find at Court, that either the King is doubtful of some disturbance, or else would seem so, (and I have reason to hope it is no worse,) by his commanding little commanders of castles, &c. to repair to their charges; and mustering the Guards the other day himself, where he found reason to dislike their condition to my Lord Gerard, finding so many absent men, or dead pays. My Lady Castlemaine, I hear, is in as great favour as ever, and the King supped with her the very first night he come from Bath: and last night and the night before supped with her; when there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered "Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!" So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted.

After dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue: where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lettice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on their vayles do say something, to which others that hear the Priest do cry Amen, and

the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that every one desires to have the carrying of it, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugall; but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more: and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this.

17th. Some discourse of the Queene's being very sick, if not dead, the Duke and Duchesse of York being sent for betimes this morning to come to White Hall to her.*

18th. The parson, Mr. Mills, I perceive, did

* Vide in the Appendix some account of the Queen's illness, in the French Ambassador's Letters to Louis XIV.

not know whether to pray for the Queene or no, and so said nothing about her; which makes me fear she is dead. But enquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night.

19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, "I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high!" fearing that the Queene might be dead. So up; and going by coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, they tell me that Sir W. Compton, who it is true had been a little sickly for a week or fortnight, but was very well upon Friday at night last at the Tangier Committee with us, was dead,—died yesterday: at which I was most exceedingly surprised, he being, and so all the world saying that he was, one of the worthyest men and best officers of State now in England; and so in my conscience he was: of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, worth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms; and yet not forty years old, or if so, that is all. I find the sober men of the Court troubled for him; and yet not so as to hinder or lessen their mirth, talking, laughing, and eating, drinking,

and doing every thing else, just as if there was no such thing.

Coming to St James's, I hear that the Queene did sleep five hours pretty well to-night, and that she waked and gargled her mouth, and to sleep again; but that her pulse beats fast, beating twenty to the King's or my Lady Suffolk's eleven; but not so strong as it was. It seems she was so ill as to be shaved and pidgeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests, who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King they all say is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheume from the head. To the Coffee-house in Cornhill; where much talk about the Turke's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier; and it is also carried to Hambrough. The Duke says the King purposes to forbid any of their ships coming into the river. The Duke also told us of several Christian commanders (French) gone over to the Turkes to serve them; and upon enquiry I find that the King of France do by this aspire to the Empire,

and so to get the Crowne of Spayne also upon the death of the King, which is very probable, it seems.

20th. This evening at my Lord's lodgings, Mrs. Sarah talking with my wife and I how the Queene do, and how the King tends her being so ill. She tells us that the Queene's sickness is the spotted fever; that she was as full of the spots as a leopard: which is very strange that it should be no more known; but perhaps it is not so. And that the King do seem to take it much to heart, for that he hath wept before her; but, for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sick, of supping with my Lady Castlemaine; which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night; and I confess I saw him myself coming through the street dressing up a great supper to-night, which Sarah says is also for the King and her; which is a very strange thing.

22d. This morning, hearing that the Queene grows worse again, I sent to stop the making of my velvet cloak, till I see whether she lives or dies.

23d. The Queene slept pretty well last night,

but her fever continues upon her still. It seems she hath never a Portuguese doctor here.

24th. The Queene is in a good way of recovery; and Sir Francis Pridgeon* hath got great honour by it, it being all imputed to his cordiall, which in her dispaire did give her rest and brought her to some hopes of recovery. It seems that, after much talk of troubles and a plot, something is found in the North that a party was to rise, and some persons that were to command it, as I find in a letter that Mr. Coventry read to-day about it from those parts.

26th. Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queene is in a way to be pretty well again, but that her delirium in her head continues still; that she talks idle not by fits, but always, which in some lasts a week after so high a fever, in some more, and in some for ever; that this morning she talked mightily that she was brought to bed, and that she wondered that she should be delivered without pain and without being sick, and that she was

* Vertue (according to Walpole) had seen a portrait of Dr. Prujeon painted by Streater, and a print of "Opinion sitting on a tree," thus inscribed: "Viro clariss. D^no^ Francisco Prujeano Medico, omnium bonarum artium et elegantiarum fautori et admiratori summo; D. D. D. H. Peacham." He was President of the College of Physicians, 1653.

troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy. But the King being by, said "No, it is a very pretty boy."—"Nay," says she, "if it be like you it is a fine boy indeed, and I would be very well pleased with it." They say that the Turkes go on apace, and that my Lord Castlehaven* is going to raise 10,000 men here for to go against him; that the King of France do offer to assist the Empire upon condition that he may be their Generalissimo, and the Dolphin chosen King of the Romans: and it is said that the King of France do occasion this difference among the Christian Princes of the Empire, which gives the Turke such advantages. They say also that the King of Spayne is making all imaginable force against Portugall again.

27th. Mr. Coventry tells me to-day that the Queene had a very good night last night; but yet it is strange that still she raves and talks of little more than of her having of children, and fancys now that she hath three children, and that the girle is very like the King. And this morning

* The eldest son of the infamous Earl of Castlehaven, had a new creation to his father's forfeited titles, in 1634, and died s. p. 1684. He had served with distinction under the Duke of Ormond, and afterwards joined Charles II. at Paris.

about five o'clock, the physician feeling her pulse, thinking to be better able to judge, she being still and asleep, waked her, and the first word she said was, "How do the children?"

29th. To Guild Hall; and meeting with Mr. Proby, (Sir R. Ford's son,) and Lieutenant-Colonel Baron, a City commander, we went up and down to see the tables; where under every salt there was a bill of fare, and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table. Many were the tables, but none in the Hall but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council that had napkins or knives, which was very strange. We went into the Buttry, and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again: and there wine was offered and they drunk, I only drinking some hypocras, which do not break my vowe, it being, to the best of my present judgement, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I hope and do think I am not. By and by met with Creed; and we, with the others, went within the several Courts, and there saw the tables prepared for the Ladies and Judges and Bishops: all great sign of a great dinner to come. By and by about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor come, come into the Hall, from the

room where they were first led into, the Lord Chancellor (Archbishopp before him,) with the Lords of the Council, and other Bishopps, and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor, who went up to the lords, and then to the other tables to bid wellcome; and so all to dinner. I set near Proby, Baron, and Creed at the Merchant Strangers' table; where ten good dishes to a messe, with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk none; but it was very unpleasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers and wooden dishes. It happened that after the lords had half dined, come the French Embassador up to the lords' table, where he was to have sat; he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who was not yet come, nor have a table to himself, which was offered; but in a discontent went away again.* After I had dined, I and Creed rose and went up and down the house, and up to the ladys' room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there;

* Vide in the Appendix, the Ambassador's account of the affront which he received, and the reparation afterwards made to him.

which was very strange. I expected musique, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me. The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one half, and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about 7 or 800*l.* at most. The Queene mends apace, they say; but yet talks idle still.

30th. To my great sorrow find myself 43*l.* worse than I was the last month, which was then 760*l.* and now it is but 717*l.* But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife; viz. for her about 12*l.* and for myself 55*l.*, or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth skirts, black, plain both; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself. And also two perriwiggs, one whereof costs me 3*l.* and the other 40*s.* I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing. The Queene continues lightheaded, but in hopes to recover. The plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fear of it here, which God defend. The Turke goes on mighty

in the Emperor's dominions, and the Princes cannot agree among themselves how to go against him.

November 2d. Up, and by coach to White Hall, and there in the long matted Gallery I find Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Batten; and by and by comes the King to walk there with three or four with him; and soon as he saw us, says he, "Here is the Navy Office," and there walked twenty turns the length of the gallery, talking, methought, but ordinary talk. By and by come the Duke, and he walked, and at last they went into the Duke's lodgings. The King staid so long that we could not discourse with the Duke, and so we parted. I heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a perriwigg; and they say the King also will. I never till this day observed that the King is mighty gray.

6th. Lord Sandwich tells me how Mr. Edward Montagu begins to show respect to him again after his endeavouring to bespatter him all was possible; but he is resolved never to admit him into his friendship again. He tells me how he and Sir H. Bennet, the Duke of Buckingham and his Duchesse, was of a committee with somebody else for the getting of Mrs. Stewart for the King;

but that she proves a cunning slut, and is advised at Somerset House by the Queene-Mother, and by her mother, and so all the plot is spoiled and the whole committee broke, Mr. Montagu and the Duke of Buckingham fallen a-pieces, the Duchesse going to a nunnery; and so Montagu begins to enter friendship with my Lord, and to attend the Chancellor whom he had deserted. My Lord tells me that Mr. Montagu, among other things, did endeavour to represent him to the Chancellor's sons as one that did desert their father in the business of my Lord of Bristoll; which is most false, being the only man that hath several times dined with him when no soul hath come to him, and went with him that very day home when the Earl impeached him in the Parliament House, and hath refused ever to pay a visit to my Lord of Bristoll, not so much as in return to a visit of his. So that the Chancellor and my Lord are well known and trusted one by another. But yet my Lord blames the Chancellor for desiring to have it put off to the next Session of Parliament, contrary to my Lord Treasurer's advice, to whom he swore he would not do it: and, perhaps, my Lord Chancellor, for ought I see by my Lord's discourse, may suffer by it when the Parliament

comes to sit. My Lord tells me that he observes the Duke of York do follow and understand business very well, and is mightily improved thereby.

8th. To church, where I found that my coming in a perriwigg did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me.

9th. To the Duke, where, when we come into his closet, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new perriwigg that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and among and above other things we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson's coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkely is come to town with a letter from the Duana of Algier to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers, and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke's pass they will detain (though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace,) as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Seignor's confirmation of the Peace from Constantinople by Captain

Berkely; so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleet of ships; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again after cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Basha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus; for (just like his late predecessor,) when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Seignor of him, and cut his head off: this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon; and among other things he asked me seriously whether I knew any thing of my Lord's being out of favour with the King; and told me, that for certain the King do take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people (which I am told) of the uncertainty of princes' favour, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make

my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour together kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to her as he believes; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought if the Queene had died, he would have married her. Mr. Blackburne and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me: first, in that of religion, he makes it greater matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience; and imputes the loss of Hungary to the Turke from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread: and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves every where, so as that they are hated and laughed at by every body; among other things, for their excommuni-

cations, which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgement, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He do tell me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed every body, and the King also; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me that to his knowledge, (being present at every meeting at the Treaty at the Isle of Wight,) that the old King did confess himself over-ruled and convinced in his judgement against the Bishopps, and would have suffered and did agree to exclude the service out of

the churches, nay his own chapell; and that he did always say, that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch by any vyolence; but what he did was out of his reason and judgement. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatiques, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better: and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must help him in the day of warr. For so generally they are the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets; but what? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker; the lieutenant, a baker; this a brewer; that a haberdasher; this common soldier, a porter; and every man in his apron and frock, &c. as if they never had done anything else: whereas the other go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other; and concludes (and I think with some reason,) that the spirits of the old parliament

soldiers are so quiet and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then to the publick management of business: it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself, and his own lust and luxury; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose he told me how the Bellamys (who had some of the Northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling) have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas (which is a very remarkable thing,) he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at Warr here of late, to whom the most of the 120,000*l.* monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so duly, that they seldom had so much or more than 40*s* or the like, short in the whole collection; whereas now the very Commissioners for Assessments and other publick payments are such persons, and those that they choose in the country so like themselves, that from top to

bottom there is not a man carefull of any thing, or if he be, is not solvent; that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen's rise to be a general. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into play. Lawson, and Portman, and the fifth-monarchy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be general; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburne himself did act it, how when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would enquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would with a sigh and casting up the eyes say, "such a man fears the Lord," or, "I hope such a man hath the Spirit of God." But he tells me that there was a cruel articling against Pen after one fight, for cowardice, in putting himself within a coyle of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself: and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and see whether this fault or a greater sin was

not the occasion of this so great tryall. And he tells me, that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica, is very false; he knows the contrary: besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, specially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. And that just upon the turne, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. That Lawson was never counted any thing but only a seaman, and a stout man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of, that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion, have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are resolved to live and die in quiet hopes of it; but never to repine, or act any thing more than by prayers towards it. And that not only himself but all of them have, and are willing

at any time to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburne observed further to me, some certain notice that he had of the present plot so much talked of; that he was told by Mr. Rushworth,* how one Captain Oates,† a great discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trapan. He also did much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's guards and militia.

11th. At noon to the Coffee-house, where with Dr. Allen some good discourse about physick and chymistry. And among other things, I telling him what Dribble the German Doctor do offer of an instrument to sink ships; he tells me that which is more strange, that something made of gold, which they call in chymistry *Aurum Fulminans*, a grain, I think he said, of it put into a silver spoon and fired, will give a blow like a musquett, and strike a hole through the silver spoon downward, without the least force upward;

* John Rushworth, Clerk assistant to the House of Commons, and author of the Historical Collections. Ob. 1690.

† Titus Oates.

and this he can make a cheaper experiment of, he says, with iron prepared.

15th. This day being our Queene's birthday, the guns of the Tower went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every street, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded.

19th. With Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Treasurer, to discourse with him about Mr. Gauden's having of money, and to offer to him whether it would not be necessary, Mr. Gauden's credit being so low as it is, to take security of him if he demands any great sum, such as 20,000*l.* which now ought to be paid him upon his next year's declaration. Which is a sad thing, that being reduced to this by us, we should be the first to doubt his credit; but so it is. However, it will be managed with great tenderness to him. My Lord Treasurer we found in his bed-chamber, being laid up of the goute. I find him a very ready man, and certainly a brave servant to the King: he spoke so quick and sensible of the King's charge. Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In

our way Sir G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade. But not yet.

20th. A great talk there is to-day of a crush between some of the Fanatiques up in arms, and the King's men in the North; but whether true I know not yet.

22d. At chapel I had room in the Privy Seale pew with other gentlemen, and there heard Dr. Killigrew * preach. The anthem was good after sermon, being the fifty-first psalme, made for five voices by one of Captn. Cooke's boys, a pretty boy. And they say there are four or five of them that can do as much. And here I first perceived that the King is a little musicall, and kept good time with his hand all along the anthem.

23d. With Alderman Backewell talking of the new money, which he says will never be counterfeited, he believes; but it is so deadly inconvenient

* Henry, youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew, D. D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of the Savoy, and author of some plays and sermons. His daughter Anne was the celebrated poetess.

for telling, it is so thick, and the edges are made to turn up.

26th. The plague, it seems, grows more and more at Amsterdam; and we are going upon making of all ships coming from thence and Hambrough, or any other infected places, to perform their Quarantine (for thirty days as Sir Rd. Browne expressed it in the order of the Council, contrary to the import of the word, though in the general acceptation it signifies now the thing, not the time spent in doing it) in Holehaven, a thing never done by us before.

28th. To Paul's Church Yard, and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. To-day for certain I am told how in Holland publickly they have pictured our King with reproach. One way is with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies, while other abuse him; which amounts to great contempt.

29th. (Lord's-day.) This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlett ribbon, very neat, with my cloak lined with velvett, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago.

30th. At White Hall Sir W. Pen and I met the Duke in the matted Gallery, and there he discoursed with us; and by and by my Lord Sandwich come and stood by, and talked; but it being St. Andrew's, and a collar-day, he went to the Chapel, and we parted.

December 1st. After dinner I to Guild Hall to hear a trial at King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Hide,* about the insurance of a ship; and it was pleasant to see what mad sort of testimonys the seamen did give, and could not be got to speak in order: and then their terms such as the Judge could not understand; and to hear how sillily the Counsel and Judge would speak as to the terms necessary in the matter, would make one laugh: and above all, a Frenchman that was forced to speak in French, and took an English oath he did not understand, and had an interpreter sworn to

* Sir Robert Hyde, ob. 1665.

tell us what he said, which was the best testimony of all.

3d. This day Sir G. Carteret did tell us at the table, that the Navy (excepting what is due to the Yards upon the quarter now going on, and what few bills he hath not heard of,) is quite out of debt; which is extraordinary good news, and upon the 'Change to hear how our creditt goes as good as any merchant's upon the 'Change is a joyfull thing to consider, which God continue! I am sure the King will have the benefit of it, as well as we some peace and creditt.

7th. I hear there was the last night the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river: all White Hall having been drowned. At White Hall; and anon the King and Duke and Duchesse come to dinner in the vane-roome, where I never saw them before; but it seems since the tables are done, he dines there alltogether. The Queene is pretty well, and goes out of her chamber to her little chapel in the house. The King of France, they say, is hiring of sixty sail of ships of the Dutch, but it is not said for what design.

8th. To White Hall, where a great while walked with my Lord Teviott, whom I find a most

carefull, thoughtfull, and cunning man, as I also ever took him to be. He is this day bringing in an account where he makes the King debtor to him 10,000*l.* already on the garrison of Tangier account; but yet demands not ready money to pay it, but offers such ways of paying it out of the sale of old decayed provisions as will enrich him finely.

10th. To St. Paul's Church Yard, to my book-seller's, and could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, Delices de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and Hudibras, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth; and so home to supper and to-bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, to-day, he tells me that Sir H.

Wright is dying; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's. The story of Henry the Eighth with all his wives.

11th. At the Coffee-house I went and sat by Mr. Harrington, and some East country merchants, and talking of the country above Quinsborough,* and thereabouts, he told us himself that for fish, none there the poorest body will buy a dead fish, but must be alive, unless it be in the winter; and then they told us the manner of putting their nets into the water. Through holes made in the thick ice, they will spread a net of half a mile long; and he hath known a hundred and thirty and a hundred and seventy barrels of fish taken at one draught. And then the people come with sledges upon the ice, with snow at the bottome, and lay the fish in and cover them with snow, and so carry them to market. And he hath seen when the said fish have been frozen in the sledge, so as he hath taken a fish and broke a-pieces, so hard it hath been; and yet the same fishes taken out of the

* Perhaps Mr. Harrington invented the name of this place, and the account of the country.

snow, and brought into a hot room, will be alive and leap up and down. Swallows are often brought up in their nets out of the mudd from under water, hanging together to some twigg or other, dead in ropes, and brought to the fire will come to life. Fowl killed in December (Alderman Barker said) he did buy, and putting into the box under his sledge, did forget to take them out to eate till Aprill next, and they then were found there, and were through the frost as sweet and fresh and eat as well as at first killed. Young beares appear there; their flesh sold in market as ordinarily as beef here, and is excellent sweet meat. They tell us that beares there do never hurt any body, but fly away from you, unless you pursue and set upon them; but wolves do much mischief. Mr. Harrington told us how they do to get so much honey as they send abroad. They make hollow a great fir-tree, leaving only a small slitt down straight in one place, and this they close up again, only leave a little hole, and there the bees go in and fill the bodys of those trees as full of wax and honey as they can hold; and the inhabitants at times go and open the slit, and take what they please without killing the bees, and so let them live there still and make more. Fir trees are always planted close together, be-

cause of keeping one another from the violence of the windes; and when a fellit is made, they leave here and there a grown tree to preserve the young ones coming up. The great entertainment and sport of the Duke of Corland, and the princes thereabouts, is hunting; which is not with dogs as we, but he appoints such a day, and summonses all the country-people as to a campagnia; and by several companies gives every one their circuit, and they agree upon a place where the toyle is to be set; and so making fires every company as they go, they drive all the wild beasts, whether bears, wolves, foxes, swine, and stags, and roes, into the toyle; and there the great men have their stands in such and such places, and shoot at what they have a mind to, and that is their hunting. They are not very populous there, by reason that people marry women seldom till they are towards or above thirty; and men thirty or forty, or more oftentimes, years old. Against a public hunting the Duke sends that no wolves be killed by the people; and whatever harm they do, the Duke makes it good to the person that suffers it: as Mr. Harrington instanced in a house where he lodged, where a wolfe broke into a hog-stye, and bit three or four great pieces off of the back of the hog, before the house

could come to help it; and the man of the house told him that there were three or four wolves thereabouts that did them great hurt; but it was no matter, for the Duke was to make it good to him, otherwise he would kill them.

12th. We had this morning a great dispute between Mr. Gauden, Victualler of the Navy, and Sir J. Lawson, and the rest of the Commanders going against Argier, about their fish and keeping of Lent; which Mr. Gauden so much insists upon to have it observed, as being the only thing that makes up the loss of his dear bargain all the rest of the year. This day I heard my Lord Barkeley tell Sir G. Carteret that he hath letters from France that the King hath emduked twelve Dukes, only to show his power and to crush his nobility, who he said he did see had heretofore laboured to cross him. And this my Lord Barkeley did mightily magnify, as a sign of a brave and vigorous mind, that what he saw fit to be done he dares do.

14th. To the Duke, where I heard a large discourse between one that goes over an agent from the King to Legorne and thereabouts, to remove the inconveniences his ships are put to by denial of pratique; which is a thing that is now-a-days

made use of only as a cheat, for a man may buy a bill of health for a piece of eight, and my enemy may agree with the Intendent of the Santè for ten pieces of eight or so, that he shall not give me a bill of health, and so spoil me in my design, whatever it be. This the King will not endure, and so resolves either to have it removed, or to keep all ships from coming in, or going out there, so long as his ships are stayed for want hereof. But among other things, Lord! what an account did Sir. J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten make of the pulling down and burning of the head of the Charles, where Cromwell was placed with people under his horse, and Peter, as the Duke called him, is praying to him; and Sir J. Minnes would needs infer the temper of the people from their joy at the doing of this and their building a gibbet for the hanging of his head up, when, God knows, it is even the flinging away of 100*l.* out of the King's purse, to the building of another, which it seems must be a Neptune. To the King's Head ordinary, and there dined among a company of fine gentlemen; some of them discoursed of the King of France's greatness, and how he is come to make the Princes of the Blood to take place of all foreign Embassadors, which it seems is granted by

them of Venice and other States, and expected from my Lord Hollis,* our King's Embassador there; and that either upon that score or something else he hath not had his entry yet in Paris, but hath received several affronts, and among others his harnesse cut, and his gentlemen of his horse killed, which will breed bad blood if true. They say also that the King of France hath hired threescore ships of Holland, and forty of the Swede, but nobody knows what to do: but some great designs he hath on foot against the next year.

21st. To Shoe Lane to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a spot I was never at in my life: but Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament-man (by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor) to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it. It is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall

* Denzil Hollis, second son of John, first Earl of Clare, created in 1661 Baron Hollis of Ifield, afterwards Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Breda. Ob. 1679-80, aged 82.

bet three or four pounds at a time, and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle, so that one of them will lose 10 or 20*l.* at a meeting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich's, where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, Dr. Childe, Mr. Madge, and Mallard, playing and singing over my Lord's anthem which he hath made to sing in the King's Chapel: my Lord took me into the withdrawing-room to hear it, and indeed it sounds very pretty, and is a good thing, I believe to be made by him, and they all commend it.

22d. I hear for certain that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist, which the Queene for all do not much like, thinking that she do it not for conscience sake.* I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's, to the loss of one of his eyes; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport with some words of contempt to him, my Lord

* "Le mariage du Chevalier de Grammont," *(says the Count d'Estrades in a letter written to his Royal Master, Louis XIV. about this time,)* "et la conversion de Madame de Castlemaine se sont publiez le meme jour: et le Roy d'Angleterre estant tant prié par les parents de la Dame d'aporter quelque obstacle à cette action, repondit galamment que pour l'âme des Dames, il ne s'en mêloit point."

Chamberlin did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice, did it; but upon petition to the King it was opened again. At noon I to Sir R. Ford's, where Sir Richard Browne and I met upon the freight of a barge sent to France to the Duchesse of Orleans; and here by discourse I find they greatly cry out against the choice of Sir John Cutler to be treasurer of Paul's, upon condition that he gives 1500*l.* towards it; and it seems he did give it upon condition that he might be Treasurer for the work, which, they say, will be worth three times as much money; and talk as if his being chosen to the office will make people backward to give, but I think him as likely a man as either of them, and better.

28th. Walking through White Hall I heard the King was gone to play at Tennis, so I down to the New Tennis Court, and saw him and Sir Arthur Slingsby play against my Lord of Suffolke and my Lord Chesterfield. The King beat three, and lost two sets, they all, and he particularly playing well, I thought. Thence went and spoke with the Duke of Albemarle about his wound at Newhall, but I find him a heavy dull man, methinks, by his answers to me.

31st. The Queene after a long and sore sickness is become well again; and the King minds his mistress a little too much, if it pleased God! but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty whatever comes of it. The great talk is the design of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spain nobody knows; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. The Turke very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a loss what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also; which God continue! So ends the old year.

January 1st, 1663-4. At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's, a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth 80,000*l.* Went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vowe, and here saw the so much cried-up play of

"Henry the Eighth;" which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not being up, I to the Duke's chamber, and there by and by to his closet, where since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which is a very pretty one. After doing business here, I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, he told me among other Court news, how the Queene is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrazes: as among others this is mightily cried up; that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse so well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at Tennis and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well

and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Park, seeing people play at Pell Mell; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man (a spruce blade) to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall.

6th. This morning I began a practice which I find by the ease I do it with that I shall continue, it saving me money and time; that is, to trimme myself with a razer: which pleases me mightily.

8th. We had great pleasure this afternoon; among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder to-day when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year, (the year 1659, which were indeed, and he did name them all) and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz. that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamt of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days

thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change a great talk there was of one Mr. Tryan, an old man, a merchant in Lyme-Streete, robbed last night, (his man and maid being gone out after he was a-bed) and gagged and robbed of 1050*l.* in money and about 4000*l.* in jewells, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expence.

10th. All our discourse to-night was about Mr. Tryan's late being robbed; and that Colonel Turner, (a mad, swearing, confident fellow, well known by all, and by me,) one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it: of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th .By invitation to St. James's; where, at

Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Barkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner,* Sir Ellis Layton,† and one Mr. Seymour, a fine gentleman: where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. This morning I stood by the King arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers; she replying still with these words, "O King!" and thou'd all along. The general talk of the towne still is of Colonel Turner, about the robbery; who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell to-night, how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the Judges at York; and, among others, Captain Oates, against whom it was proved that he drew his sword at his going out, and flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

18th. By coach to the 'Change, after having

* Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Solicitor-general, and Lord Chief Baron. Ob. 1675.

† D. C. L., brother to R. Leighton, Bishop of Dumblane, and had been Secretary to the Duke of York.

been at the Coffee-house, where I hear Turner* is found guilty of felony and burglary: and strange stories of his confidence at the barr, but yet great indiscretion in his argueing. All desirous of his being hanged.

20th. My Lord Sandwich did seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in 250*l.* per annum rent. Sir Richard Ford told me that Turner is to be hanged to-morrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him news of his death, he begun to be sober and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by by the King, but that he do doat upon Mrs. Stewart only; and that to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queene; that he values not who sees him or

* Vide State Trials.

stands by him while he dallies with her openly: and then privately in her chamber below, where the very sentrys observe his going in and out; and that so commonly, that the Duke or any of the nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they will ordinarily say, "Is the King above, or below?" meaning with Mrs. Stewart: that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hambletons,* and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, intrigue with her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queene's lodgings, that he might be the least observed: that the Duke of Monmouth the King do still doat on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchesse of Savoy: so that he mourns as a Prince of the Blood, while the Duke of York do no more, and all the nobles of the land not so much; which gives great offence, and he sees the Duke of York

* George Hamilton, and the Count Antoine Hamilton, author of the Mémoires de Grammont.

do consider. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble prince; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so!

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none come, and at last was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looked man he was, and kept his countenance to the end: I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 or 14,000 people in the street.

22d. To Deptford, and there viewed Sir W.

Petty's vessel; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it.

26th. Tom Killigrew told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid 40*l.* for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done; and the fire at last quenched without doing much wrong.

27th. At the Coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue* and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear. To Covent Garden, to buy a maske at the French House, Madam Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at "The Indian Queene;"† which for show, they say, exceeds Henry the Eighth. Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

* A distinguished naval officer before and after the Restoration; but he never went to sea subsequently to the action in 1666, when he was taken prisoner.

† "The Indian Queen," a tragedy in heroic verse, by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

30th. This evening I tore some old papers; among others, a romance which (under the title of "Love a Cheate") I begun ten years ago at Cambridge: and reading it over to-night, I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

February 1st. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through; one of them of the King's Chapel, one Cave, and the other a retayner of my Lord Generall Middleton's. Thence to White Hall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King come and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take oddes against the King's best boates: but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat. Mr. Pierce tells me how the King,

coming the other day to his Theatre to see "The Indian Queene," (which he commends for a very fine thing,) my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he come; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as every body else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw "The Indian Queen" acted; which indeed is a most pleasant show, and beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the ryme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall* did do her

* Anne Marshall, a celebrated actress, and her youngest sister Becke, so frequently mentioned in the Diary, were, I believe, the daughters of a Presbyterian minister; but very little seems to be known about their history. One of them is erroneously stated, in the notes to the Mémoires de Grammont, and Davies' Dramatic Miscellanies, to have become Lord Oxford's mistress; for Mr. Pepys uniformly calls the Marshalls by their proper name, and only speaks of the other lady as "the first or old Roxalana, who had quitted the stage." *Vide Feb.* 18, 1661-2, *and Dec.* 27, *in the same year.*

part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's:* but, however, we come home mightily contented. Here we met Mr. Pickering; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristoll against the Parliament; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cooper open high against the Chancellor; which I am sorry for.

3d. In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house there, where I never was before: where Dryden the poet (I knew at Cambridge), and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

* Malone says, in his *History of the English Stage,* that Mrs. Mary Saunderson performed Ianthe in Davenant's play of the Siege of Rhodes, at the first opening of his theatre, April 1662. She married Betterton the following year, and lived till 1712, having filled almost all the female characters in Shakspeare with great success. It is probable, therefore, that she was the person alluded to here, and frequently mentioned afterwards, without any more particular designation.

4th. To St. Paul's School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbucke,* Barker, Harrington, and others; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me, that in Dr. Colett's † will he says that he would have a Master found for the School that hath good skill in Latin, and (if it could be) one that had some knowledge of the Greeke; so little was Greeke known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins ‡ and one Mr. Smallwood, Posers.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me how the King still do doat upon his women, even beyond all shame: and that the good Queene will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart; and that some of the best

* Probably Alderman Clutterbuck, one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Middlesex. There was a Sir Thomas Clutterbuck of London, *circiter* 1670.

† Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the School.

‡ John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, and afterwards Dean of Rippon, consecrated Bishop of Chester 1668; ob. 1672. He was a learned theologian, and well versed in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

parts, of the Queene's joynture are, contrary to faith, and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his Council, bestowed or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stewart, and others of that crew: that the King do doat infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed him. God knows what will be the end of it!

9th. Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffick there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the Greyhound and another, very rich, coming from the Streights, for fear of the Turkes. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France; so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies.

10th. I did give my wife's brother 10*s.* and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied light-coloured cloth coat, with a gold edgeing in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petty-coat that she had when I married her. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune.

15th. To White Hall, to the Duke; where he

first put on a periwigg to-day: but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwigg. Great news of the arrivall of two rich ships, the Greyhound and another, which they were mightily afraid of, and great insurance given. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlin * come to the office to me, and showed me several letters from the East Indys, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only Factory there of Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English standard St. George under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying, that whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list, and be masters of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves Soveraigne of all the South Seas: which certainly our King cannot endure, if the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt and yet do hope they will not yet, till we are more ready for it.

17th. Mr. Pierce tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong

* Son of William Chamberlayne, an English Judge, and created a Baronet 1642.

indeed to the Queene, worth 20,000*l.* to him; and how people do talk of it.

19th. Mr. Cutler come, and walked and talked with me a great while: and then to the 'Change together; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving; as also his own fortune, and how credit grew upon him; that when he was not really worth 1,100*l.*, he had credit for 100,000*l.*: of Sir W. Rider how he rose; and others. By and by joyned with us Sir John Bankes;* who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how in every case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife; and taking a coach, went to visit my Ladys Jemimah and Paulina Montagu, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering,†

* An opulent merchant, residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

† Lord Sandwich's niece.

whom we find at their father's new house in Lincolne's Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us well enough; but I did not endeavour to carry myself over familiarly with them: and so after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Aberguenny * and other ladies, we back again by coach.

22d. This evening come Mr. Alsopp the King's brewer, with whom I spent an hour talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the King led away by half-a-dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding, (to whom he hath, it seems, given 12,000*l.* per annum in the best part of the King's estate); and that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King. Projers † is another, and Sir H. Bennett. He loves not the Queene at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that every body admires

* Probably Mary, daughter of Thomas Gifford, Esq., of Dunton Walet, Essex, wife to George, ninth Lord Abergavenny.

† Edward Progers, Esq., the King's Valet-de-Chambre, and the confidant of his amours. Ob. 1713, aged ninety-six.

it; and he says that the Duke hath said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother: though Alsopp says, it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the King was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says, that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children; and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms: that he is not likely to have his tables up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall (which there is a ball to be in to-night before the King) be guarded, as the Queene-Mother's is, by his Horse Guards; whereas heretofore they were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward, and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away; and what is worst of all, will alter the present militia, and bring all to a flying army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's* enemy, and one that scorns the Chancellor even to open affronts before the King, hath got the

* John Earl of Middleton, General of the Forces in Scotland.

whole power of Scotland into his hand; whereas the other day he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate, and honour, and life, voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim,* in Ireland; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's, and his commissions: but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queene-Mother's (by my Lord Germin,† I suppose,) in marriage, be it to whom the Queene pleases: which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lenox's was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House, to Harry Germin; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth in such a high stile, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of

* Randall, second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim. Ob. 1673.

† The Earl of St. Albans.

Monmouth's mother's brother hath a place at Court; and being a Welchman, (I think he told me,) will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at the Council, commit my Lord Digby's * chaplin, and steward, and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church, and receive the Sacrament as a Protestant, (which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law); the King, I say, did commit them all to the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependance upon him, and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say, that he would soon see whether he was King, or Digby. That the Queene-Mother hath outrun herself in her expences, and is now come to pay very ill, or run in debt; the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money

* George, Lord Digby, 2nd Earl of Bristol, who had been Secretary of State in 1643; but by changing his religion while abroad, at the instigation of Don John of Austria, incapacitated himself from being restored to that office; and in consequence of the disappointment, which he imputed to the interference of the Lord Chancellor, conspired and effected his ruin. He was installed K. G. in 1661, and died 1676.

laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers he can assure me there is no such thing, nor any body that should look after such a thing; and that there is not now above 80,000*l.* of the Dunkirke money left in stock. That Oliver the year when he spent 1,400,000*l.* in the Navy, did spend in the whole expence of the kingdom 2,600,000*l.* That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur, that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for; unless by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Embassador had, it is true, an audience; but in the most dishonourable way that could be; for the Princes of the Blood (though invited by our Embassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever Embassador committed these 400 years) were not there; and so were not said to give place to our King's Embassador. And that our King did openly say, the other day in the Privy Chamber, that he would not be hectored out of his right and pre-eminencys by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French (as the news-book says,) upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talk

which these people about our King, that I named before, have, is to tell him how neither priviledge of Parliament nor City is any thing; but that his will is all, and ought to be so: and their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the eares of the very gentlemen of the back-stairs (I think he called them) to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Digby did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to the point of his knowing before-hand that the Queene was not capable of bearing children; and that something was given her to make her so. But as private as they were, when they come thither they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Digby endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his there: but I hope the contrary. That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon* to somebody for 20,000*l.*, and this to have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldome is fetched

* Clarendon Park, near Salisbury.

from thence; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seale for the payment of this 20,000*l.* to my Lord Chancellor, to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholiques. And from all together, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruin can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23d. This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world: and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in every thing, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world, than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th. (Ash-Wednesday.) To the Queene's chapel, where I staid and saw their masse, till a man come and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chapel, where Monsieur d'Espagne*

* Probably author of a small volume called "Shibboleth, ou, Reformation de quelques Passages de la Bible, per Jean d'Espagne; Ministre du St. Evangile," in the Pepysian Collection, printed 1653, and dedicated to Cromwell.

used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crouded than the Queene's chapel at St. James's; which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which in every respect will be mighty magnificent and costly.

27th. Sir Martin Noell told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether callico be linnen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so: they say it is made of cotton woole, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hemp. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict.

28th. (Lord's-day.) Up and walked to Paul's; and by chance it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the Students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of Students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the Church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon upon these words: "But the wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the

Quire, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London,* who sat there in a pew, made a' purpose for him by the pulpitt, do give the last blessing to the congregation; which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing, methought. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. After dinner to chapel in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keyes carried before us, and the Warders and Gentleman-porter going before us. And I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew, in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me many excellent collections of the State of the Revenue in former Kings' and the late times, and the present. He showed me how the very Assessments between 1643 and 1659, which were taxes, (besides Excise, Customes, Sequestrations, Decimations, King and Queene's and Church Lands, or any thing else but just the Assessments,) come to above fifteen millions. He showed me a discourse

* Humphrey Henchman translated from Salisbury, September 1663. Ob. 1675.

of his concerning the Revenues of this and foreign States. How that of Spayne was great, but divided with his kingdoms, and so come to little. How that of France did, and do much exceed ours before for quantity; and that it is at the will of the Prince to tax what he will upon his people; which is not here. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only upon the expence of provisions, by an excise; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expence of provisions. He showed me every particular sort of payment away of money, since the King's coming in, to this day; and told me, from one to one, how little he hath received of profit from most of them; and I believe him truly. That the 1,200,000*l.* which the Parliament with so much ado did first vote to give the King, and since hath been re-examined by several committees of the present Parliament, is yet above 300,000*l.* short of making up really to the King the 1,200,000*l.* as by particulars he showed me. And in my Lord Treasurer's excellent letter to the King upon this subject, he tells the King how it was the spending more than the revenue that did give the first occasion of his father's ruine, and did since to the

rebels; who, he says, just like Henry the Eighth, had great and sudden increase of wealth, but yet by overspending both died poor: and further tells the King how much of this 1,200,000*l.* depends upon the life of the Prince, and so must be renewed by Parliament again to his successor; which is seldom done without parting with some of the prerogatives of the Crowne; or if denied and he persists to take it of the people, it gives occasion to a civill war, which did in the late business of tonnage and poundage prove fatal to the Crowne. He showed me how many ways the Lord Treasurer did take before he moved the King to farme the Customes in the manner he do, and the reasons that moved him to do it. He showed me a very excellent argument to prove, that our importing lesse than we export, do not impoverish the kingdom, according to the received opinion: which, though it be a paradox, and that I do not remember the argument, yet methought there was a great deal in what he said. And upon the whole I find him a most exact and methodicall man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this; though I cannot easily guess the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in

telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury.

March 2d. This morning Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the public, unless Sir Edward Nicholas. Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but for all his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seale, a destroyer of every body's business, and do no good at all to the public. The Archbishop of Canterbury * speaks very little, nor do much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me, he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor by Digby, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King; and making the King to trot every day to him, when he is well enough to go to visit his cosen Chief-Justice Hide, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane for his corruption; and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. But nobody

* Gilbert Sheldon.

almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtfull of himself, and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's eare nor council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad every where; and even in the Council nobody minds the public.

4th. There were several people trying a new-fashion gun brought my Lord Peterborough this morning, to shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. At Greenwich I observed the foundation laying of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deal of money.

10th. At the Privy Seale I enquired, and found the Bill come for the Corporation of the Royall Fishery: whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons, to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives: whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one; and take it not only as a matter of honour, but that, that may come to be of profit to me.

14th. To White Hall; and in the Duke's

chamber, while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highness how the other night, in Holborne, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy come by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-faling. Upon this the whole family was frighted, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire: so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcony, but it was not open; the other went up to fetch down his children, that were in bed: so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom. It seems my Lord Southampton's canaille did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it come: which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristoll, they say, is hushed up; and the latter gone or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died.

16th. To the office, where we sat this afternoon, having changed this day our sittings from morning to afternoon, because of the Parliament which returned yesterday; but was adjourned till Monday next, upon pretence that many of the members

were said to be upon the road; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristoll, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while (pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the differences between him and the Chancellor made up,) endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting; and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbleton, where he was in the morning, but could not find him: at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy: and it seems would make Digby's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against his Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say; and God knows what will follow upon it!

18th. To church, and with the grave-maker chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombes * are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, (as his own words were,)

* *Query* Bones?

"I will justle them together but I will make room for him;" speaking of the fulness of the middle isle, where he was to lie. I dressed myself, and so did my servant Besse; and so to my brother's again: whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they come not till four or five. But at last one after another they come, many more than I bid: and my reckoning that I bid was one hundred and twenty; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cosen Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But above all, I am beholden to Mrs. Holding, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and every thing else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think; the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the Conduit, and so across the street; and had a very good company along with the

corps. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for buriall: and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave.

21st. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queene with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he desired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read to-morrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23d. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men. Among other things, they observed, that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz. Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, and not above twenty or thirty merchants; which is a strange thing in an island.

25th. To White Hall, and there to chapel;

where it was most infinite full to hear Dr. Crit-ton.* The Doctor preached upon the thirty-first of Jeremy, and the twenty-first and twenty-second verses, about a woman compassing a man; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I ever heard him make, I must confess; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyter John (a short coat and a long gowne interchangeably) in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate in praise of his own lenity; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate: which he compared to the proceeding of the Long Parliament against my Lord Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the Bishop's powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies, plainly speaking of death and of the

* Creighton.

skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pyoneer; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's, or fair Rosamond's, or Jane Shore's.

26th. Sir W. Batten told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the Triennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time to-day, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many in the House are displeased at it, though they dare not say much. But above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idoll whose head was of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffes, should fail to do it. He tells me also, how, upon occasion of some 'prentices being put in the pillory to-day for beating of their masters or such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices come and rescued them, and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again.

28th. The great matter to-day in the House hath been, that Mr. Vaughan, * the great speaker, is this day come to town, and hath declared himself in a speech of an hour and a half, with great reason and eloquence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; but with no succesee: but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring this Act. But, Lord! to see how the best things are not done without some design; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with to-day were against it, (though there was reason enough on their side); yet purely I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it; and should he demand any thing else, I believe they would give it him.

April 1st. To White Hall; and in the Gallery met the Duke of York; (I also saw the Queene going to the Park, and her Maids of Honour: she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stewart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was:) and he called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me; and after he was gone, twice or thrice staid

* John Vaughan, afterwards knighted, and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

and called me again to him, the whole length of the house: and at last talked of the Dutch; and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them.

3d. Called up by W. Joyce,* he being summonsed to the House of Lords to-morrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters† for a debt.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who tells me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. I to the Lords' House before they sat; and stood within it, while the Duke of York come to me and spoke to me a good while about the new ship at Woolwich. Afterwards I spoke with my Lord Barkeley and my Lord Peterborough about it. And so staid without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And at last W. Joyce was called in; and by the consequences,

* William Joyce had married Mr. Pepys' first cousin, Kate Fenner.

† Elizabeth, daughter of John Earl Rivers, and first wife to William fourth Lord Petre, who was, in 1678, impeached by the Commons of High Treason, and died under confinement in the Tower, January 5th, 1683. *s. p.*

and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod: which is very hard, he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peter's own steward. But the Serjeant of the Black Rod did direct one of his messengers to take him in custody, and peaceably conducted him to the Swan with two Necks, in Tuttle-street, to a handsome dining-room; and there was most civilly used. It was a sad sight, methought, to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House, fall out with his lady (from whom he is parted) about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is, it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high-spirited.

5th. Lord Peterborough presented a petition to the House from W. Joyce: and a great dispute, we hear, there was in the House for and against it. At last it was carried that he should be bayled till the House meets again after Easter, he giving bond for his appearance. Anon comes the King and passed the Bill for repealing the Triennial Act, and another about Writs of Errour. I crowded in and heard the King's speech to them; but he speaks the worst that ever I

heard man in my life: worse than if he read it all, and he had it in writing in his hand. I went to W. Joyce, where I find the order come, and bayle (his father and brother) given; and he paying his fees, which come to above 12*l.*, besides 5*l.* he is to give one man, and his charges of eating and drinking here, and 10*s.* a-day as many days as he stands under bayle: which, I hope, will teach him hereafter to hold his tongue better than he used to do.

8th. Home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wiggs* and ale.

15th. To the Duke's house, and there saw "The German Princesse"† acted, by the woman herself; but never was any thing so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage.

18th. Up and by coach to Westminster, and there solicited W. Joyce's business again; and did

* Buns, still called wiggs in the West of England.

† Mary Moders, *alias* Stedman, *alias* Carleton, a celebrated impostor, who had induced the son of a London citizen to marry her under the pretence that she was a German Princess. She next became an actress, after having been tried for bigamy and acquitted. The rest of her life was one continued course of robbery and fraud; and in 1678 she suffered at Tyburn, for stealing a piece of plate from a tavern in Chancery-lane.

speak to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her: but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do any thing to release him; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Priviledges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent. to any man, to insure him against a Dutch warr for four months: I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hide Parke, where I have not been since last year: where I saw the King with his periwigg, but not altered at all; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on; and many brave persons. And myself being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physique Garden in St. James's Parke; where I first saw orange-trees, and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us, (when, God knows! it is only our own negligence and laziness that hath done us the wrong): and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that, upon submission upon the knee both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and ask pardon upon his knees; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitifull Lords the King hath; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk; and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory, and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes: which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be, God knows!

23d. I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talk of a Dutch war: for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it; and so the next week it will be presented to the King.

26th. Saw W. Joyce; and the late business hath cost the poor man above 40*l.*, besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Lady Peters, Creed says, is a drunken jade, he himself having seen her drunk in the lobby of their House. My wife gone this afternoon to the buriall of my she-cosen Scott, a good woman: and it is a sad consideration how the Pepys's decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of encreasing them.

27th. This day the Houses attended the King, and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

May 3d. To Westminster Hall; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three, hear the cause of Mr. Roberts,* my Lord Privy Seale's son, against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Roberts's wife (Mr. Bodvill) to give him the estate

* *Vide* "Lords' Journals of the day."

and disinherit his daughter. The cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seale by Finch the solicitor; but I do really think that he is a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson hath proclaimed war again with Argier, though they had at his first coming given back the ships which they had taken, and all their men; though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them.

5th. My eyes beginning every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight; which I never observed till now.

13th. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. The Lords would be freed from having their houses searched by any but the Lord Lieutenant of the County; and upon being found guilty, to be tried only by their peers; and thirdly, would have it added, that whereas the Bill says, "That that, among other things, shall be a conventicle wherein any such meeting is found doing any thing contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England," they would

have it added, " or practice." The Commons to the Lords said, that they knew not what might hereafter be found out which might be called the practice of the Church of England: for there are many things may be said to be the practice of the Church, which were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon; as singing of psalms, binding up prayers at the end of the Bible, and praying extempore before and after sermon: and though these are things indifferent, yet things for aught they at present know may be started, which may be said to be the practice of the Church which would not be fit to allow. For the Lords' priviledges, Mr. Waller told them how tender their predecessors had been of the priviledges of the Lords; but, however, where the peace of the kingdom stands in competition with them, they apprehend those priviledges must give place. He told them that he thought, if they should own all to be the priviledges of the Lords which might be demanded, they should be led like the man (who granted leave to his neighbour to pull off his horse's tail, meaning that he could not do it at once,) that hair by hair had his horse's tail pulled off indeed: so the Commons, by granting one thing after another, might be served by the

Lords. Mr. Vaughan, whom I could not to my grief perfectly hear, did say, if that they should be obliged in this manner to exempt the Lords from every thing, it would in time come to pass that whatever (be it ever so great) should be voted by the Commons as a thing penall for a commoner, the contrary should be thought a priviledge to the Lords: that also in this business, the work of a conventicle being but the work of an hour, the cause of a search would be over before a Lord Lieutenant, who may be many miles off, can be sent for; and that all this dispute is but about 100*l.*; for it is said in the Act, that it shall be banishment or payment of 100*l.* I thereupon heard the Duke of Lenox say, that there might be Lords who could not always be ready to lose 100*l.*, or some such thing. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower, for adding something to a Bill (after it was ordered to be engrossed) of his own head—a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his own bringing in; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But, however, the King was fain to write

in his behalf, and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryly the Herald, and his son; and spoke to his son, who told me in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records; but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months: so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier; where God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it! And had it been what it would, it had gone: and, besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and most of all his affecting to be great with the Queene: and it seems indeed he had more of her care than every body else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together; insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath

now the gallant: and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistress (meaning the Queene) did. He grew so proud and despised every body, besides suffering nobody he or she to get or do any thing about the Queene, that they all laboured to do him a good turn. They all say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speak to him of. So he is gone, nobody pitying, but laughing at him: and he pretends only that he is gone to his father that is sick in the country.

23d. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham.

29th. Mr. Coventry and I did long discourse together of the business of the office, and the war with the Dutch; and he seemed to argue mightily with the little reason that there is for all this. For first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us: that of the East Indys, for their not delivering of Poleron, it is not yet known whether they have failed or no; that of their hindering the Leopard cannot amount to above 3000*l.* if true; that of the Guinny Company, all they had done us did not amount to above 2 or 300*l.* he told me truly; and that now, from what Holmes, without

any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set us much in debt to them; and he believes that Holmes will have been so puffed up with this, that he by this time hath been enforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deal more wrong to them. He do, as to the effect of the war, tell me clearly that it is not any skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them, of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speak with me about was, to understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleet; saying, that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to do it; but thinking that twelve ships is not a fleet fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go, or not. To the King's closet; whither by and by the King come, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A Bishop preached, but he speaking too low for me to hear. By and by my Lord Sandwich come forth, and called me to him: and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with

me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do; and I hope I shall become necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence after sermon among the ladies in the Queene's side; where I saw Mrs. Stewart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy* home to dinner; where extraordinary cheer. And after dinner up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective in the little closet; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the best cabinet-work I ever saw; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool; his furniture of all sorts; his bath at the top of the house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking; do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

31st. I was told to-day, that upon Sunday night last, being the King's birth-day, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings (over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings) dancing with

* Evelyn mentions Mr. Povy's house in Lincoln's Inn.

fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

June 1st. Southwell (Sir W. Pen's friend) tells me the very sad newes of my Lord Teviott's and nineteen more commission officers being killed at Tangier by the Moores, by an ambush of the enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines: which is very sad, and, he says, afflicts the King much. To the King's house, and saw "The Silent Woman;" but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise; and all the house in a disorder.

2d. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and half out of the town, to cut down a wood in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spyes; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for any body's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapt, he and all his officers, and about two hundred men, as they say; there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened the 3d of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his en-

tering into his government there: but at his going out in the morning he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moores, when Fines made his sally out."

4th. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten, (what a sad fellow he is!) told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwicke, did walk up and down sweating with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat: and that Prince Rupert being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten, do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King, that Batten had a mind to betray them to-day, and that the napkin was a signal; "but, by God," says he, "if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him." He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lime for the Parliament, did through his sober sort of valour defend it the most opiniâstrement that ever any man did any

thing; and yet never was the man that ever made an attaque by land or sea, but rather avoyded it on all, even fair occasions. On the other side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attaquer in the world for personal courage; and yet in the defending of Bristol no man ever did any thing worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviott, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from a mean man in few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only surviver of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would; and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and no judgment in a fight. He tells me above all of the Duke of York, that he is more himself and more of judgment is at hand in him in the middle of a desperate service, than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirke, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried him-

self and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him; "For," says he, "the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them:" and though he is a man naturally martiall to the hottest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxime that a Hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is, that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civill, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. Here were my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner, and good company. Mr. Prin also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all.

11th. With my wife only to take the ayre, it

being very warm and pleasant, to Bowe and Old Ford: and thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries: and so with good refreshment home.

13th. Spent the whole morning reading of some old Navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the Navy then, above what it is now, is very observable.

15th. At home, to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by and by the three young ladies:* and very merry we were with our pasty, very well baked; and a good dish of roasted chickens; pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards: and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich; and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden, and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed; and so took boat again, and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten of the clock; and such a troublesome passage, in regard of my Lady Paulina's fearfullness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach; but it being so late, I doubted

* Lord Sandwich's daughters.

what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street, I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy; and myself and Creed in the coach home with them, But, Lord! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way: and indeed at this time of the night it was no safe thing to go that road; so that I was even afraid myself, though I appeared otherwise. We come safe, however, to their house; where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being in bed. So put them into doors; and leaving them with the maids, bade them good night.

16th. The talk upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his own ship, of the plague, at Cales: that the Holland Embassador here do endeavour to sweeten us with fair words; and things like to be peaceable.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich, are to be Generalls; and soon after is to follow them "Vieux Pen:" and so the Duke called him in mirth Old Pen. They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting-out ships was only to defend

their fishing-trade, and to stay near home, not to annoy the King's subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships: which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company's ships, and then they will not care for us. To my Lord's lodgings; and were merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last week, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale, after he had received a box on the eare by her brother (who was there a sentinel, in behalf of some courtier,) at the door; but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court, and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband: and so all is past.

23d. W. How was with me this afternoon, to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be

soon; for it seems the King and both the Queenes intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge; for Mr. Moore tells me to-day that he is 10,000*l.* in debt: and this will, with many other things that daily will grow upon him, (while he minds his pleasure as he do,) set him further backward.

24th. To White Hall; and Mr Pierce showed me the Queene's bed-chamber, and her closet, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Park, and there met the Queene coming from Chapell, with her Maids of Honour, all in silver-lace gowns again; which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closet: where such variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. At my Lord Sandwich's; where his little daughter, my Lady Katharine was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheeke looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is, with a scarr in her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering.*

July 4th. This day the King and the Queenes went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleet, going forth in the Hope.

7th. The King is pretty well to-day, though let blood the night before yesterday.

10th. My Lady Sandwich showed us my Lady Castlemaine's† picture, finely done: given my Lord; and a most beautiful picture it is.

14th. To my Lord's. He did begin with a most solemn profession of the same confidence in and love for me that he ever had, and then told me what a misfortune was fallen upon me and him: in me, by a displeasure which my Lord Chancellor did show to him last night against me, in the highest and most passionate manner that ever

* She married, first, Nicholas son and heir of Sir N. Bacon, K. B.; and secondly, the Rev. Mr. Gardeman; and lived to be 96, dying 1757.

† There is a beautiful portrait of Lady Castlemaine in the dining-room at Hinchingbroke.

any man did speak, even to the not hearing of any thing to be said to him: but he told me, that he did say all that could be said for a man as to my faithfullnesse and duty to his Lordship, and did me the greatest right imaginable. And what should the business be, but that I should be forward to have the trees in Clarendon Park * marked and cut down, which he, it seems, hath bought of my Lord Albemarle; when, God knows! I am the most innocent man in the world in it, and did nothing of myself, nor knew of his concernment therein, but barely obeyed my Lord Treasurer's warrant for the doing thereof. And said that I did most ungentlemanly-like with him, and had justified the rogues in cutting down a tree of his; and that I had sent the veriest Fanatique that is in England to mark them, on purpose to nose him. All which, I did assure my Lord, was

* Near Salisbury, granted by Edward VI. to Sir W. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, for two lives, which term ended in 1601, when it reverted to the Crown, and was conferred on the Duke of Albemarle, whose family, as I imagine, got back the estate after Lord Clarendon's fall; for, according to Britton, Clarendon Park was alienated by Christopher, second Duke of Albemarle, to the Earl of Bath, from whom it passed, by purchase, to Mr. Bathurst, the ancestor of the present possessor.

most properly false, and nothing like it true; and told my Lord the whole passage. My Lord do seem most nearly affected with him; partly, I believe, for me, and partly for himself. So he advised me to wait presently upon my Lord, and clear myself in the most perfect manner I could, with all submission and assurance that I am his creature both in this and all other things; and that I do own that all I have, is derived through my Lord Sandwich from his Lordship. So, full of horror, I went, and found him busy in trials of law in his great room; and it being Sitting-day, durst not stay, but went to my Lord and told him so: whereupon he directed me to take him after dinner; and so away I home, leaving my Lord mightily concerned for me. So I to my Lord Chancellor's; and there coming out after dinner I accosted him, telling him that I was the unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high displeasure, and come to desire him to give me leave to make myself better understood to his Lordship, assuring him of my duty and service. He answered me very pleasingly, that he was confident upon the score of my Lord Sandwich's character of me, but that he had reason to think what he did, and desired me to call upon him some even-

ing: I named to-night, and he accepted of it. To my Lord Chancellor's, and there heard several trials, wherein I perceive my Lord is a most able and ready man. After all done, he himself called, "Come, Mr. Pepys, you and I will take a turn in the garden." So he was led down stairs, having the goute, and there walked with me, I think, above an hour, talking most friendly, yet cunningly. I told him clearly how things were; how ignorant I was of his Lordship's concernment in it; how I did not do nor say one word singly, but what was done was the act of the whole Board. He told me by name that he was more angry with Sir G. Carteret than with me, and also with the whole body of the Board. But thinking who it was of the Board that did know him least, he did place his fear upon me; but he finds that he is indebted to none of his friends there. I think I did thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him; and upon my desiring to be directed who I should of his servants advise with about this business, he told me nobody, but would be glad to hear from me himself. He told me he would not direct me in any thing, that it might not be said that the Lord Chancellor did labour to abuse

the King; or (as I offered) direct the suspending the Report of the Purveyors: but I see what he means, and will make it my work to do him service in it. But, Lord! to see how he is incensed against poor Deane, as a fanatick rogue, and I know not what: and what he did was done in spite to his Lordship, among all his friends and tenants. He did plainly say that he would not direct me in any thing, for he would not put himself into the power of any man to say that he did so and so; but plainly told me as if he would be glad I did something. Lord! to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the greatness of these men. He named Sir G. Carteret, and Sir J. Minnes, and the rest; and that he was as angry with them all as me. But it was pleasant to think that, while he was talking to me, comes into the garden Sir G. Carteret; and my Lord avoided speaking with him, and made him and many others stay expecting him, while I walked up and down above an hour, I think; and would have me walk with my hat on. And yet, after all, there has been so little ground for his jealousy of me, that I am sometimes afraid that he do this only in policy to bring me to his side by scaring me; or else,

which is worse, to try how faithfull I would be to the King: but I rather think the former of the two. I parted with great assurance how I acknowledged all I had to come from his Lordship; which he did not seem to refuse, but with great kindness and respect parted.

15th. Up, and to my Lord Sandwich's; where he sent for me up, and I did give my Lord an account of what had passed with my Lord Chancellor yesterday; with which he was pleased, and advised me by all means to study in the best manner I could to serve him in this business. After this discourse ended, he begun to tell me that he had now pitched upon his day of going to sea upon Monday next, and that he would now give me an account how matters are with him. He told me that his work now in the world is only to keep up his interest at Court, having little hopes to get more considerably, he saying that he hath now about 8000*l.* per annum. It is true, he says, he oweth about 10,000*l.*; but he hath been at great charges in getting things to this pass in his estate; besides his building and good goods that he hath bought. He says that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes.

He says now there is due, too, 7000*l.* to him there, if he knew how to get it paid, besides 2000*l.* that Mr. Montagu do owe him. As to his interest, he says that he hath had all the injury done him that ever man could have by another bosom friend that knows all his secrets, by Mr. Montagu: but he says that the worst of it all is past, and he gone out and hated, his very person by the King, and he believes the more upon the score of his carriage to him; nay, that the Duke of York did say a little while since in his closet, that he did hate him because of his ungrateful carriage to my Lord of Sandwich. He says that he is as great with the Chancellor, or greater, than ever in his life. That with the King he is the like; and told me an instance, that whereas he formerly was of the private council to the King before he was last sick, and that by the sickness an interruption was made in his attendance upon him; the King did not constantly call him as he used to do his private council, only in businesses of the sea and the like; but of late the King did send a message to him by Sir Harry Bennet, to excuse the King to my Lord that he had not of late sent for him as he used to do to his private council, for it was not out of any distaste, but to avoid giving offence to some others

whom he did not name; but my Lord supposes it might be Prince Rupert, or it may be only that the King would rather pass it by an excuse, than be thought unkind: but that now he did desire him to attend him constantly, which of late he hath done, and the King never more kind to him in his life than now. The Duke of York, as much as is possible; and in the business of late, when I was to speak to my Lord about his going to sea, he says that he finds the Duke did it with the greatest ingenuity and love in the world; "and whereas," says my Lord, "here is a wise man hard by that thinks himself so, and it may be is in a degree so, (naming by and by my Lord Crewe,) would have had me condition with him that neither Prince Rupert nor any body should come over his head, and I know not what." The Duke himself hath caused in his commission, that he be made Admirall of this and what other ships or fleets shall hereafter be put out after these; which is very noble. He tells me in these cases, and that of Mr. Montagu's, and all others, he finds that bearing of them patiently is the best way, without noise or trouble, and things wear out of themselves and come fair again. But says he takes it from me, never to trust too much to any man in the

world, for you put yourself into his power; and the best seeming friend and real friend as to the present may have or take occasion to fall out with you, and then out comes all. Then he told me of Sir Harry Bennet, though they were always kind, yet now it is become to an acquaintance and familiarity above ordinary, that for these months he hath done no business but with my Lord's advice in his chamber, and promises all faithfull love to him and service upon all occasions. My Lord says, that he hath the advantage of being able by his experience to help out and advise him; and he believes that that chiefly do invite Sir Harry to this manner of treating him. "Now," says my Lord, "the only and the greatest embarras that I have in the world is, how to behave myself to Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Chancellor, in case that there do lie any thing under the embers about my Lord Bristoll, which nobody can tell; for then," says he, "I must appear for one or other, and I will lose all I have in the world rather than desert my Lord Chancellor: so that," says he, "I know not for my life what to do in that case." For Sir H. Bennet's love is come to the height, and his confidence, that he hath given my Lord a character,*

* A cypher.

and will oblige my Lord to correspond with him. "This," says he, "is the whole condition of my estate and interest; which I tell you, because I know not whether I shall see you again or no." Then as to the voyage, he thinks it will be of charge to him, and no profit; but that he must not now look after nor think to encrease, but study to make good what he hath, that what is due to him from the Wardrobe or elsewhere may be paid, which otherwise would fail, and all a man hath be but small content to him. Se we seemed to take leave one of another; my Lord of me, desiring me that I would write to him and give him information upon all occasions in matters that concern him; which, put together with what he preambled with yesterday, makes me think that my Lord do truly esteem me still, and desires to preserve my service to him; which I do bless God for. In the middle of our discourse my Lady Crewe come in to bring my Lord word that he hath another son, my Lady being brought to bed just now, for which God be praised! and send my Lord to study the laying up of something the more! Thence with Creed to St. James's, and missing Mr. Coventry, to White Hall; where, staying for him in one of the galleries, there comes out of the chayre-roome Mrs.

Stewart, in a most lovely form, with her hair all about her eares, having her picture taking there. There was the King and twenty more I think, standing by all the while, and a lovely creature she in the dress seemed to be.

18th. Sir G. Carteret and I did talk together in the Parke about my Lord Chancellor's business of the timber; he telling me freely that my Lord Chancellor was never so angry with him in all his life, as he was for this business, and in a great passion; and that when he saw me there, he knew what it was about. And plots now with me how we may serve my Lord, which I am mightily glad of; and I hope together we may do it. Thence I to my Lord Chancellor, and discoursed his business with him. I perceive, and he says plainly, that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my Lord Chancellor did contrive the wronging the King of his timber; but yet I perceive, he would be glad to have service done him therein; and told me Sir G. Carteret hath told him that he and I would look after his business to see it done in the best manner for him.

20th. With Mr. Deane, discoursing upon the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber, in Cla-

rendon Park, and how to make a report therein without offending him; which at last I drew up, and hope it will please him. But I would to God neither I nor he ever had any thing to have done with it! To White Hall, to the Committee for Fishing; but nothing done, it being a great day to-day there upon drawing at the Lottery* of Sir Arthur Slingsby. I got in and stood by the two Queenes and the Duchesse of York, and just behind my Lady Castlemaine, whom I do heartily admire; and good sport to see how most that did give their ten pounds did go away with a pair of globes only for their lot, and one gentlewoman, one Mrs. Fish, with the only blanke. And one I staid to see draw a suit of hangings valued at 30*l.* and they say are well worth the money, or near it. One other suit there is better than that; but very many lots of three and fourscore pounds. I observed the King and Queene did get but as poor lots as any else. But the wisest man I met with was Mr. Cholmley, who insured as many as would, from drawing of the one blank for 12*d.*; in which case there was the whole number of persons to one, which I think was three or four

* Evelyn says this Lottery was a shameful imposition.

hundred. And so he insured about 200 for 200 shillings, so that he could not have lost if one of them had drawn it; for there was enough to pay the 10*l.* but it happened another drew it, and so he got all the money he took.

25th. Met with a printed copy of the King's commission for the repairs of Paul's, which is very large, and large power for collecting money, and recovering of all people that had bought or sold formerly any thing belonging to the Church. No news, only the plague is very hot still, and encreases among the Dutch.

26th. Great discourse of the fray yesterday in Moorefields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers, (between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery,) but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves, that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field, and some deeply wounded and bruised; till at last the weavers went out tryumphing, calling 100*l.* for a butcher.

28th. I am over-joyed in hopes that upon this

month's account I shall find myself worth 1000*l.* besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flaggons, which Mr. Gauden did give me the other day. My Lord Sandwich newly gone to sea, and he did before his going, and by his letter since, show me all manner of respect and confidence.

30th. To the 'Change, where great talk of a rich present brought by an East India ship from some of the Princes of India, worth to the King 70,000*l.* in two precious stones.

August 1st. To the Coffee-house, and there all the house full of the victory Generall Soushe (who is a Frenchman, a soldier of fortune, commanding part of the German army) hath had against the Turke; killing 4000 men, and taking most extraordinary spoil.

2nd. To the King's play-house, and there saw "Bartholomew Fayre," which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery; that is, is going to build a house in Moorefields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the

best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as is in Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4th. To a play at the King's house, "The Rivall Ladys,"* a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and it being given me,† I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne (after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts) to his country-house, set upon and murdered; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him. Thence visited my Lady Sandwich, who tells me my Lord FitzHarding is to be made a Marquis.

5th. About ten o'clock I dressed myself, and so mounted upon a very pretty mare, sent me by Sir W. Warren, according to his promise yesterday. And so through the City, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to

* A Tragedy by Dryden.

† His companion paid for him.

my cosen W. Joyce's, who presently mounted too, and he and I out of towne toward Highgate; in the way, at Kentish-towne, he showing me the place and manner of Clun's being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me, also, the manner of it, of his going home so late drinking with his mistress, and manner of having it found out.

7th. I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be catched!

9th. This day come the news that the Emperour hath beat the Turke; killed the Grand Vizier and several great Bassas, with an army of 80,000 men killed and routed; with some considerable loss of his own side, having lost three generals, and the French forces all cut off almost. Which is thought as good a service to the Emperour as beating the Turke almost.

10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small that Browne that made it can-

not get one to do it. So I got Cocker,* the famous writing-master, to do it, and I set an hour by him to see him design it all; and strange it is to see him with his natural eyes to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not, with my best skill, read one word, or letter of it; but it is use. He says that the best light for his life to do a very small thing by, (contrary to Chaucer's words to the Sun, "that he should lend his light to them that small seals grave,") it should be by an artificial light of a candle, set to advantage, as he could do it. I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenious: and among other things, a great admirer and well read in the English poets, and undertakes to judge of them all, and that not impertinently.

11th. Comes Cocker with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration, for goodness and smallness of work: it cost me 14*s*. the doing. This day, for a wager before the King, my Lords of Castlehaven, and Arran, (a son of my Lord of Ormond's) they two alone did run down and kill a stoute bucke in St. James's parke.

* Edward Cocker the well known writing-master and arithmetician. Ob. circ. 1679.

13th. To the new play, at the Duke's house, of "Henry the Fifth;" a most noble play, writ by my Lord Orrery; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense, that ever I heard; having but one incongruity, that King Harry promises to plead for Tudor to their Mistress, Princesse Katherine of France, more than when it comes to it he seems to do; and Tudor refused by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him.

15th. With Sir J. Minnes, he talking of his cures abroad, while he was with the King as a doctor. And among others, Sir J. Denham he told me he had cured to a miracle. At Charing Cross, and there saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eyebrowes with the tip of my fingers. He is a comely and well-made man, and his wife a very little but pretty comely Dutch woman.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an hour, with such continued lightnings, not flashes, but

flames, that all the sky and ayre was light; and that for a great while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time: such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had even been in nature. And being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over. And that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any news of hurt done. Mr. Pierce tells me the King do still sup every night with my Lady Castlemaine.

19th. The news of the Emperour's victory over the Turkes is by some doubted, but by most confessed to be very small (though great,) of what was talked, which was 80,000 men to be killed and taken of the Turke's side.

20th. I walked to Cheapside to see the effect of a fire there this morning, since four o'clock; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Doctor Fuller's niece, who are both out of town, leaving only a maid and man in town. It begun in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward; and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for

them, for the Doctor's sake. Thence to the 'Change, and so home to dinner. And thence to Sir W. Batten's, whither Sir Richard Ford come, the Sheriffe, who hath been at this fire all the while; and he tells me, upon my question, that he and the Mayor* were there, as it is their dutys to be, not only to keep the peace, but they have power of commanding the pulling down of any house or houses, to defend the City. By and by comes in the Common Cryer of the City to speak with him; and when he was gone, says he, "You may see by this man the constitution of the Magistracy of this City; that this fellow's place, I dare give him (if he will be true to me,) 1000*l.* for his profits every year, and expect to get 500*l.* more to myself thereby. When," says he, "I in myself am forced to spend many times as much."

26th. To see some pictures at one Hiseman's,† a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lilly, and indeed there is both of the Queenes and Maids of Honour (particularly Mrs. Stewart's ‡ in a buff doublet like a soldier) as good pictures I think as ever I saw. The Queene is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like

* Sir John Robinson. † Huysman.

‡ Still to be seen at Kensington Palace.

St. Katharin, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed. Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife. A most modish person grown, she says a fine gentleman.

27th. All the news this day is, that the Dutch are, with twenty-two sail of ships of warr, crewsing up and down about Ostend; at which we are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back into the Downes with only eight sail, which is or may be a prey to the Dutch, if they knew our weakness and inability to set out any more speedily.

31st. Prince Rupert I hear this day is to go to command this fleet going to Guinny against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man.

September 5th. With the Duke; where all our discourse of war in the highest measure. Prince Rupert was with us; who is fitting himself to go to sea in the Heneretta. And afterwards I met him and Mr. Gray, and says he, "I can answer but for one ship, and in that I will do my part; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command every thing."

6th. This day Mr. Coventry did tell us how the Duke did receive the Dutch Embassador the

other day; by telling him that, whereas they think us in jest, he believes that the Prince (Rupert) which goes in this fleet to Guinny will soon tell them that we are in earnest, and that he himself will do the like here, in the head of the fleet here at home; and that he did not doubt to live to see the Dutch as fearfull of provoking the English, under the government of a King, as he remembers them to have been under that of a Coquin.

11th. With Mr. Blagrave walking in the Abbey, he telling me the whole government and discipline of White Hall Chapel, and the caution now used against admitting any debauched persons.

12th. Up, and to my cosen Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my aunt James, and both cosens, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my Aunt 20*s.*, to carry as a token to my mother, and 10*s.* to Poll.* With the Duke; and saw him with great pleasure play with his little girle, like an ordinary private father of a child.

19th. Dr. Pierce tells me (when I was wondering that Fraizer should order things with the

* His sister Paulina.

Prince in that confident manner,) that Fraizer is so great with my Lady Castlemaine, and Stewart, and all the ladies at Court, in helping to slip their calfes when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of them, that he can do what he please with the King, in spite of any man, and upon the same score with the Prince; they all having more or less occasion to make use of him.

22nd. Home to-bed; having got a strange cold in my head, by flinging off my hat * at dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

23rd. We were told to-day of a Dutch ship of 3 or 400 tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gottenburgh.

29th. Fresh newes come of our beating the Dutch at Guinny quite out of all their castles almost, which will make them quite mad here at home sure. And Sir G. Carteret did tell me, that the King do joy mightily at it; but asked him laughing, "But," says he "how shall I do to answer this to the Embassador when he comes?" Nay they say that we have beat them out of the

* In Lord Clarendon's Essay on the decay of respect paid to Age, he says, that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, except at dinner.

New Netherlands too; so that we have been doing them mischief for a great while in several parts of the world, without publick knowledge or reason. Their fleete for Guinny is now, they say, ready, and abroad, and will be going this week.

October 1st. We go now on with vigour in preparing against the Dutch; who, they say, will now fall upon us without doubt upon this high news come of our beating them so wholly in Guinny.

2nd. After church I walked to my Lady Sandwich's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work.

3rd. With Sir J. Minnes, by coach, to St. James's; and there all the news now of very hot preparations for the Dutch: and being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to take a tripp himself, and that Sir W. Pen should go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talk also of great haste in the getting out another fleet, and building some ships; and now it is likely we have put one another's dalliance past a retreate.

4th. After dinner to a play, to see "The Generall;" which is so dull and so ill-acted, that I think it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley; who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dullness of the poet and badness of the action, that most pertinently; which I was mightily taken with.

5th. To the Musique-meeting at the Post-office, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viall, where being tuned with lute-strings, and played on with kees like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the kees are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several vyalls played on with one bow, but so basely and so harshly, that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other musique of instruments. This morning, by three o'clock, the Prince* and King, and Duke with him, went down the River, and the Prince under

* Rupert.

sail the next tide after, and so is gone from the Hope. God give him better success than he used to have!

10th. This day, by the blessing of God, my wife and I have been married nine years: but my head being full of business, I did not think of it to keep it in any extraordinary manner. But bless God for our long lives and loves and health together, which the same God long continue, I wish, from my very heart!

11th. Luellin tells me what an obscene loose play this "Parson's Wedding"* is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house. My wife tells me the sad news of my Lady Castlemaine's being now become so decayed, that one would not know her; at least far from a beauty, which I am sorry for. This day, with great joy Captain Titus told us the particulars of the French's expedition against Gigery upon the Barbary Coast, in the Straights, with 6000 chosen men. They have taken the Fort of Gigery, wherein were five men and three guns, which makes the whole story of the King of France's policy and power to be laughed at.

12th. For news, all say De Ruyter is gone to

* A comedy, by Thomas Killigrew.

Guinny before us. Sir J. Lawson is come to Portsmouth; and our fleet is hastening all speed: I mean this new fleet. Prince Rupert with his is got into the Downes.

13th. In my way to Brampton in this day's journey I met with Mr. White, Cromwell's chaplin that was, and had a great deal of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publickly that he do correspond, and return him all his money. That Richard hath been in some straits in the beginning; but relieved by his friends. That he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. He tells me, for certain, that offers had been made to the old man, of marriage between the King and his daughter, to have obliged him, but he would not. He thinks (with me) that it never was in his power to bring in the King with the consent of any of his officers about him; and that he scorned to bring him in as Monk did, to secure himself and deliver every body else. When I told him of what I found writ in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbiere,* that gives an account of

* Samuel Sorbiere, who, after studying divinity and medicine at Paris, travelled in different parts of Europe, and pub-

his observations here in England; among other things he says, that it is reported that Cromwell did, in his life-time, transpose many of the bodies of the Kings of England from one grave to another, and that by that means it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell, or of one of the Kings; Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

15th. My father and I up and walked alone to Hinchingbroke; and among the late chargeable works that my Lord hath done there, we saw his water-works, which are very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein.

16th. (Lord's-day.) It raining, we set out betimes, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time; and I light and saw my simple Lord Salsbury sit there in the gallery.

lished his Voyage into England, described by Voltaire as a dull, scurrilous satyr upon a nation of which the author knew nothing. Ob. 1670.

18th. At Somerset-House I saw the Queene's new rooms, which are most stately and nobly furnished; and there I saw her and the Duke of York and Duchesse. The Duke espied me, and come to me, and talked with me a very great while.

24th. Into the galleries at White Hall to talk with my Lord Sandwich; among other things, about the Prince's writing up to tell us of the danger he and his fleet lie in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the Dutch; which, my Lord said, he would never have done, had he lain there with one ship alone: nor is there any great reason for it, because of the sands. However, the fleet will be ordered to go and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much beneath the prowesse of the Prince, I think, and the honour of the nation, at the first to be found to secure themselves. My Lord is well pleased to think, that, if the Duke and the Prince go, all the blame of any miscarriage will not light on him: and that if any thing goes well, he hopes he shall have the share of the glory, for the Prince is by no means well esteemed of by any body. This day the great O'Neale died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland.

26th. At Woolwich; I there up to the King and Duke. Here I staid above with them while the ship was launched, which was done with great success, and the King did very much like the ship, saying, she had the best bow that ever he saw. But Lord! the sorry talk and discourse among the great courtiers round about him, without any reverence in the world, but with so much disorder. By and by the Queene comes and her Maids of Honour; one whereof, Mrs. Boynton,* and the Duchesse of Buckingham had been very sick coming by water in the barge, (the water being very rough); but what silly sport they made with them in very common terms, methought, was very poor, and below what people think these great people say and do. The launching being done, the King and company went down to take barge; and I sent for Mr. Pett,† and put the flaggon into the Duke's hand, and he, in the presence of the King, did give it Mr. Pett, taking it upon his knee. The City did last night very freely lend the King 100,000*l.* without any

* Daughter of Matthew second son to Sir Matthew Boynton, Bart., of Barnston, Yorkshire. She became the first wife of Richard Talbot, afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel.

† He had built the ship.

security but the King's word, which was very noble.

29th. All the talk is that De Ruyter is come over-land home with six or eight of his captaines to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Straights: which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

31st. This day I hear young Mr. Stanly, a brave young gentleman, that went out with young Jermin, with Prince Rupert, is already dead of the small-pox, at Portsmouth. All preparations against the Dutch; and the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to go to the fleet which is hastening for him; being now resolved to go in the Charles.

November 5th. To the Duke's house to see "Macbeth," a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

8th. At noon, I and Sir J. Minnes and Lord Barkeley (who with Sir J. Duncum, * and Mr. Chichly, are made Masters of the Ordnance), to

* M. P. for Bury St. Edmund's.

to the office of the Ordnance, to discourse about wadding for guns. Thence to dinner, all of us to the Lieutenant's of the Tower; where a good dinner, but disturbed in the middle of it by the King's coming into the Tower: and so we broke up, and to him, and went up and down the store-houses and magazines; which are, with the addition of the new great storehouse, a noble sight.

9th. To White Hall, and there the King being in his Cabinet Council, (I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret,) I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretarys, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

11th. A gentleman told us he saw the other day, (and did bring the draught of it to Sir Francis Prigeon,) a monster born of an hostler's wife at Salsbury, two women children perfectly made, joyned at the lower part of their bellies,

and every part perfect as two bodies, and only one payre of legs coming forth on one side from the middle where they were joined. It was alive 24 hours, and cried and did as all hopefull children do; but, being showed too much to people, was killed. To the Council at White Hall, where a great many lords: Annesly in the chair. But, Lord! to see what work they will make us, and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know, when the greatest of our hurry is, is a thing to be lamented; and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. Put on my new shaggy purple gown with gold buttons and loop lace.

14th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, to the Lords of the Admiralty, and there did our business betimes. Thence to Sir Philip Warwick about Navy business: and my Lord Ashly; and afterwards to my Lord Chancellor, who is very well pleased with me, and my carrying of his business. And so to the 'Change, where mighty busy; and so home to dinner, where Mr. Creed and Moore: and after dinner I to my Lord Treasurer's, to Sir Philip Warwick there, and then to White Hall, to the Duke of Albemarle, about Tangier; and then homeward

to the Coffee-house to hear news. And it seems the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her: which appears as the first act of hostility; and is looked upon as so by Mr. Coventry. The Elias, coming from New England (Captain Hill, commander,) is sunk; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered in the sea.

21st. This day for certain news is come that Teddiman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bourdeaux fleet, and two men of warr to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon, that three are brought into the Downes and Dover; so that the warr is begun: God give a good end to it!

22d. To my Lord Treasurer's; where with Sir Philip Warwick, studying all we could to make the last year swell as high as we could. And it is much to see how he do study for the King, to do it to get all the money from the Parliament he can: and I shall be serviceable to him therein, to help him to heads upon which to enlarge the report of the expence. He did

observe to me how obedient this Parliament was for awhile, and the last Session how they began to differ, and to carp at the King's officers; and what they will do now, he says, is to make agreement for the money, for there is no guess to be made of it. He told me he was prepared to convince the Parliament that the Subsidys are a most ridiculous tax, (the four last not rising to 40,000*l.*) and unequall. He talks of a tax of Assessment of 70,000*l.* for five years; the people to be secured that it shall continue no longer than there is really a warr; and the charges thereof to be paid. He told me, that one year of the late Dutch war, cost 1,623,000*l.* Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there staid long with Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes, to speak with my lord about our Prize Office business; but, being sick and full of visitants, we could not speak with him, and so away home. Where Sir Richard Ford did meet us with letters from Holland this day, that it is likely the Dutch fleet will not come out this year; they have not victuals to keep them out, and it is likely they will be frozen before they can get back. Captain Cocke is made Steward for sick and wounded seamen.

23d. Sir G. Carteret was here this afternoon; and strange to see how we plot to make the charge of this war to appear greater than it is, because of getting money.

25th. At my office all the morning, to prepare an account of the charge we have been put to extraordinary by the Dutch already; and I have brought it to appear 852,700*l.*: but God knows this is only a scare to the Parliament, to make them give the more money. Thence to the Parliament House, and there did give it to Sir Philip Warwick; the House being hot upon giving the King a supply of money. Mr. Jenings tells me the mean manner that Sir Samuel Morland lives near him, in a house he hath bought and laid out money upon, in all to the value of 1200*l.*; but is believed to be a beggar. At Sir W. Batten's I hear that the House have given the King 2,500,000*l.* to be paid for this war, only for the Navy, in three years' time: which is a joyful thing to all the King's party I see, but was much opposed by Mr. Vaughan and others, that it should be so much.

28th. Certain news of our peace made by Captain Allen with Argier; and that the Dutch have sent part of their fleet round by Scotland; and resolve to pay off the rest half-pay, promising the

rest in the Spring, hereby keeping their men. But how true this, I know not.

December 3d. The Duke of York is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleet; and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory: and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

5th. Up, and to White Hall with Sir J. Minnes; and there, among an infinite crowd of great persons, did kiss the Duke's hand; but had no time to discourse.

6th. To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again, which puts us to new discourse, and to alter our thoughts of the Dutch, as to their want of courage or force.

15th. It seems, of all mankind there is no man so led by another as the Duke is by Lord Muskerry * and this FitzHarding. Insomuch, as when the King would have him to be Privy-Purse, the Duke wept, and said, "But, Sir, I must have

* Eldest son of the Earl of Clancarty. He had served with distinction in Flanders, as colonel of an infantry regiment, and was killed on board the Duke of York's ship, in the sea fight, 1665.

your promise, if you will have my dear Charles from me, that if ever you have occasion for an army again, I may have him with me; believing him to be the best commander of an army in the world." But Mr. Cholmly thinks, as all other men I meet with do, that he is a very ordinary fellow. It is strange how the Duke also do love naturally, and affect the Irish above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea, took above two thirds Irish and French. He tells me the King do hate my Lord Chancellor; and that they, that is the King and Lord FitzHarding, do laugh at him for a dull fellow; and in all this business of the Dutch war do nothing by his advice, hardly consulting him. Only he is a good minister in other respects, and the King cannot be without him; but, above all, being the Duke's father-in-law, he is kept in; otherwise FitzHarding were able to fling down two of him. This, all the wise and grave lords see, and cannot help it; but yield to it. But he bemoans what the end of it may be, the King being ruled by these men, as he hath been all along since his coming; to the raising all the strong-holds in Scotland, and giving liberty to the Irish in Ireland, whom Cromwell had settled all in one corner; who are now able, and it is feared every day a massacre beginning among them.

17th. Mighty talk there is of this Comet that is seen a'nights; and the King and Queene did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And to-night I thought to have done so too; but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr. Gray did tell me to-night, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle; and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered 40,000*l.* to make a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bourdeaux fleet thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English: in confidence whereof, (it coming to Bourdeaux,) all the fleet comes out, and so falls into our hands.

19th. With Sir J. Minnes to White Hall, and there we waited on the Duke. And among other things Mr. Coventry took occasion to vindicate himself before the Duke and us, being all there, about the choosing of Taylor * for Harwich. Upon which the Duke did clear him, and did tell us that he did expect, that, after he had named a man, none of us shall then oppose or find fault with the man; but if we had any thing to say, we ought to say it before he had chose him. Sir G. Carteret

* Silas Taylor, Storekeeper at Harwich.

thought himself concerned, and endeavoured to clear himself: and by and by Sir W. Batten did speak, knowing himself guilty, and did confess, that being pressed by the Council he did say what he did, that he was accounted a fanatique; but did not know that at that time he had been appointed by his Royal Highness. To which the Duke: that it was impossible but he must know that he had appointed him; and so it did appear that the Duke did mean all this while Sir W. Batten.

21st. My Lord Sandwich this day writes me word that he hath seen (at Portsmouth) the Comet, and says it is the most extraordinary thing he ever saw.

22nd. Met with a copy of verses, mightily commended by some gentlemen there, of my Lord Mordaunt's,* in excuse of his going to sea this late expedition, with the Duke of York. But Lord! they are sorry things; only a Lord made them. Thence to the 'Change; and there, among the merchants, I hear fully the news of our being beaten to dirt at Guinny, by De Ruyter with his fleet. The particulars, as much as by Sir G. Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth; it

* Vide Note, Nov. 26, 1666.

being most wholly to the utter ruine of our Royall Company, and reproach and shame to the whole nation, as well as justification to them in their doing wrong to no man as to his private property, only taking whatever is found to belong to the Company, and nothing else. To Redriffe; and just in time within two minutes, and saw the new vessel of Sir William Petty's launched, the King and Duke being there. It swims and looks finely, and I believe will do well.

24th. At noon to the 'Change, to the Coffee-house; and there heard Sir Richard Ford tell the whole story of our defeat at Guinny. Wherein our men are guilty of the most horrid cowardice and perfidiousness, as he says and tells it, that ever Englishmen were. Captain Raynolds, that was the only commander of any of the King's ships there, was shot at by De Ruyter, with a bloody flag flying. He, instead of opposing (which, indeed, had been to no purpose, but only to maintain honour) did poorly go on board himself, to ask what De Ruyter would have; and so yield to whatever Ruyter would desire. The King and Duke are highly vexed at it, it seems, and the business deserves it. I saw the Comet, which is now, whether worn away or no I know not, but appears

not with a tail, but only is larger and duller than any other star, and is come to rise betimes, and to make a great arch, and is gone quite to a new place in the heavens than it was before: but I hope in a clearer night something more will be seen.

28th. To Sir W. Pen's to see his Lady,* who is a well-looked, fat, short, old Dutch woman; but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and is I believe very discreet, and hath more wit than her husband.

31st. Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch warr. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now afraid as much of them, as we lately contemned them. Every thing else in the State quiet, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleet at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books; and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping, or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among

* Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant at Rotterdam.

others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep.

AGE OF MY GRANDFATHER'S CHILDREN.

Thomas, 1595.
Mary, March 16, 1597.
Edith, October 11, 1599.
John, (my Father,) January 14, 1601.

My father and mother marryed at Newington, in Surry, Oct. 15, 1626.

THEYR CHILDREN'S AGES.

Mary, July 24, 1627. *mort.**
Paulina, Sept. 18, 1628. *mort.*
Esther, March 27, 1630. *mort.*
John, January 10, 1631. *mort.*
Samuel,† Feb. 23, 1632.
Thomas, June 18, 1634. *mort.*
Sarah, August 25, 1635. *mort.*
Jacob, May 1, 1637. *mort.*
Robert, Nov. 18, 1638. *mort.*
Paulina, Oct. 18, 1640.
John, Nov. 26, 1641. *mort.*

December 31, 1664.

CHARMES.

FOR STENCHING OF BLOOD.

Sanguis mane in te,
Sicut Christus fuit in se;

* The word "mort" must have been in some instances added long after the entry was first made.

† To this name is affixed the following note:—Went to reside in Magd. Coll. Camb. and did put on my gown first, March 5, 1650-1.

Sanguis mane in tuâ venâ
Sicut Christus in suâ pœnâ;
Sanguis mane fixus,
Sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.

2. A THORNE.

Jesus, that was of a Virgin born,
Was pricked both with nail and thorn;
It neither wealed, nor belled, rankled nor boned;
In the name of Jesus no more shall this.

Or, thus:—

Christ was of a Virgin born,
And he was pricked with a thorn;
And it did neither bell, nor swell;
And I trust in Jesus this never will.

3. A CRAMP.

Cramp be thou faintless,
As our Lady was sinless,
When she bare Jesus.

4. A BURNING.

There came three Angells out of the East;
The one brought fire, the other brought frost—
Out fire; in frost.
In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.
AMEN.

1664-5. (January 2d.) To my Lord Brouncker's, by appointment, in the Piazza, in Covent-Garden; where I occasioned much mirth with a ballet* I brought with me, made from the seamen

* The Earl of Dorset's song, "To all ye ladies now at land," &c.

at sea to their ladies in town; saying Sir W. Pen, Sir G. Ascue, and Sir J. Lawson made them. Here a most noble French dinner and banquet. The street full of footballs, it being a great frost.

4th. To my Lord of Oxford's, but his Lordship was in bed at past ten o'clock: and, Lord help us! so rude a dirty family I never saw in my life.

9th. I saw the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charter and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows' hands are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King hath put his with the word Founder. Holmes was this day sent to the Tower, but I perceive it is made matter of jest only; but if the Dutch should be our masters, it may come to be of earnest to him, to be given over to them for a sacrifice, as Sir W. Rawly was. To a Tangier committee, where I was accosted and most highly complimented by my Lord Bellasses, our new governor, beyond my expectation; and I may make good use of it. Our patent is renewed, and he and my Lord Barkeley, and Sir Thomas Ingram* put in as commissioners.

* Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a Privy Counsellor. Ob. 1671.

11th. This evening, by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the Leopard and another, in the Straights, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off, whereof Captain Allen one: and that a Dutch fleet are gone thither; and if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad news; God make us sensible of it!

12th. Spoke with a Frenchman who was taken, but released, by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns, (with seven more of the King's or greater ships), off the North Foreland, by Margett. Which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth; but the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth, will carry them away home.

13th. Yesterday's news confirmed, though a little different; but a couple of ships in the Straights we have lost, and the Dutch have been in Margaret Road.*

14th. To the King's house, there to see Vulpone,† a most excellent play; the best I think I ever saw, and well acted.

15th. With Sir W. Pen in his coach to my

* *Query* Margate

† A Comedy by Ben Jonson.

Lord Chancellor's, where by and by Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, Sir J. Lawson, Sir G. Ascue, and myself were called in to the King, there being several of the Privy Council, and my Lord Chancellor lying at length upon a couch (of the goute I suppose); and there Sir W. Pen spoke pretty well to dissuade the King from letting the Turkey ships go out: saying (in short) the King having resolved to have 130 ships out by the spring, he must have above 20 of them merchantmen. Towards which, he in the whole River could find but 12 or 14, and of them the five ships taken up by these merchants were a part, and so could not be spared. That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these 130 ships, and of them in service we have not above 16,000; so that we shall need 14,000 more. That these ships will with their convoys carry about 2000 men, and those the best men that could be got; it being the men used to the Southward that are the best men for warr, though those bred in the North among the colliers are good for labour. That it will not be safe for the merchants, nor honourable for the King, to expose these rich ships with his convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to secure them against the Dutch, who, without doubt, will have

a great fleet in the Straights. This, Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue chiefly spoke that the warr and trade could not be supported together. Mr. Coventry showed how the medium of the men the King hath one year with another employed in his Navy since his coming, hath not been above 3000 men, or at most 4000 men; and now having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 must be found out of the trade of the nation. He showed how the cloaths, sending by these merchants to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the workmen, and are as many as they would send these twelve months or more; so the poor do not suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, upon whose hands they lie dead; and so the inconvenience is the less. And yet for them he propounded, either the King should, if his Treasurer would suffer it, buy them, and showed the loss would not be so great to him: or, dispense with the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out by strangers; and ending that he doubted not but when the merchants saw there was no remedy, they would and could find ways of sending them abroad to their profit. All ended with a conviction (unless future discourse with the mer-

chants should alter it,) that it was not fit for them to go out, though the ships be loaded. So we withdrew, and the merchants were called in. Staying without, my Lord FitzHarding come thither, and fell to discourse of Prince Rupert's disease,* telling the horrible degree of its breaking out on his head. He observed also from the Prince, that courage is not what men take it to be, a contempt of death; for, says he, how chagrined the Prince was the other day when he thought he should die.

16th. To a Tangier committee, where my Lord Ashly, I observe, is a most clear man in matters of accounts, and most ingeniously did discourse and explain all matters.

19th. This day was buried (but I could not be there) my cosen Percivall Angier; and yesterday I received the news that Dr. Tom Pepys is dead, at Impington.

21st. Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House, and there showed me the Queene-Mother's chamber and closet, most beautiful places for furniture and pictures; and so down the great stone stairs to the garden, and tried the brave echo upon the stairs; which continues a voice so long as the

* Morbus, scil. Gallicus.

singing three notes, concords, one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly.

23d. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to White Hall; but there finding the Duke gone to his lodgings in St. James's for alltogether, his Duchesse being ready to lie in, we to him, and there did our usual business. And here I met the great news confirmed by the Duke's own relation, by a letter from Captain Allen. First, of our own loss of two ships, the Phœnix and Nonsuch, in the Bay of Gibraltar: then of his and his seven ships with him, in the Bay of Cales, or thereabouts, fighting with the 34 Dutch Smyrna fleet; sinking the King Salamon, a ship worth a 150,000*l.* or more, some say 200,000*l.* and another; and taking of three merchant-ships. Two of our ships were disabled, by the Dutch unfortunately falling against their will against them; the Advice, Captain W. Poole, and Antelope, Captain Clerke. The Dutch men of war did little service. Captain Allen, before he would fire one gun, come within pistol-shot of the enemy. The Spaniards, at Cales, did stand laughing at the Dutch, to see them run away and flee to the shore, 34 or thereabouts, against eight

Englishmen at most. I do purpose to get the whole relation, if I live, of Captain Allen himself. In our loss of the two ships in the Bay of Gibraltar, the world do comment upon the misfortune of Captain Moone of the Nonsuch, (who did lose, in the same manner, the Satisfaction,) as a person that hath ill-luck attending him; without considering that the whole fleet was ashore. Captain Allen led the way, and himself writes that all the masters of the fleet, old and young, were mistaken, and did carry their ships aground. But I think I heard the Duke say that Moone, being put into the Oxford, had in this conflict regained his credit, by sinking one and taking another. Captain Seale of the Milford hath done his part very well, in boarding the King Salamon, which held out half an hour after she was boarded; and his men kept her an hour after they did master her, and then she sunk, and drowned about 17 of her men.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war. *

* This statement of a total prohibition of all trade, and for so long a period as eighteen months, by a government so es-

27th. Mr. Slingsby, a very ingenious person about the Mint, tells me that the money passing up and down in business is 700,000*l.* He also made me fully understand that the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported, is, and ever was a folly and an injury, rather than good.

February 3d. To visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my Lady Jemimah, with Sir G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land. But I will inform myself, and give her my opinion. Then Mrs. Pickering (after private discourse ended, we going into the other room) did, at my Lady's command, tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day. Where six women (my Lady Castle-

sentially commercial as that of the United Provinces seems extraordinary. The fact, as I am informed, was, that when in the beginning of the year 1665 the States General saw that the war with England was become inevitable, they took several vigorous measures, and determined to equip a formidable fleet, and with a view to obtain a sufficient number of men to man it, prohibited all navigation, especially in the great and small fisheries as they were then called, and in the Whale fishery. This measure appears to have resembled the embargoes so commonly resorted to in this country on similar occasions, rather than a total prohibition of trade.

maine and Duchesse of Monmouth being two of them,) and six men, (the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Avon and Monsieur Blanfort,* being three of them) in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously. God give us cause to continue the mirth!

4th. I to the Sun behind the 'Change, to dinner to my Lord Belasses. He told us a very handsome passage of the King's sending him his message about holding out the town of Newarke, of which he was then governor for the King. This message he sent in a slugg-bullet, being writ in cypher, and wrapped up in lead and sealed. So the messenger come to my Lord and told him he had a message from the King, but it was yet in his belly; so they did give him some physick, and out it come. This was a month before the King's flying to the Scots; and therein he told him that at such aday, the 3d or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty,

* Lewis Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, naturalized 17th Charles II., and created Baron Duras 1672, and K. G. by James II., whom he had attended in the sea-fight 1665, as Captain of the guard.

honour, and safety, that could be desired. And at the just day he did come to the Scots. He told us another odd passage: how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis of his governorship of Newarke, at the entreaty of the gentry of the County, and put in my Lord Bellasses; the great officers of the King's army mutinyed, and come in that manner with swords drawn, into the market-place of the town where the King was; which the King hearing, says, "I must horse." And there himself personally, when every body expected they should have been opposed, the King come, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, "Nephew, I command you to be gone." So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered.

6th. One of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England.

9th. Sir William Petty tells me that Mr. Barlow* is dead; for which, God knows my heart, I

* Mr. Pepys' predecessor as Clerk of the Acts, to whom he paid part of the salary.

could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets 100*l.* per annum.

12th. To Church to St. Lawrence to hear Dr. Wilkins, the great scholar, for curiosity, I having never heard him: but was not satisfied with him at all.

15th. At noon, with Creed to the Trinity-house, where a very good dinner among the old jokers, and an extraordinary discourse of the manner of the loss of The Royall Oake coming home from Bantam, upon the rocks of Scilly. Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr. Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member; and was this day admitted, by signing a book and being taken by the hand by the President, my Lord Brouncker, and some words of admittance said to me. But it is a most acceptable thing to hear their discourse, and see their experiments; which were this day on fire, and how it goes out in a place where the ayre is not free, and sooner out where the ayre is exhausted, which they showed by an engine on purpose. After this being done, they to the Crown Tavern, behind the 'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company to a club supper;

Sir P. Neale,* Sir R. Murrey,† Dr. Clerke, Dr. Whistler, ‡ Dr. Goddard, § and others, of the most eminent worth. Above all, Mr. Boyle was at the meeting, and above him Mr. Hooke, who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that ever I saw. Here excellent discourse till ten at night, and then home.

17th. Povy tells me how my Lord Barkeley will say openly, that he hath fought more set fields than any man in England hath done.

18th. At noon, to the Royall Oak taverne in Lombard Street; where Sir William Petty and the owners of the double-bottomed boat (the Experiment) did entertain my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murrey, myself, and others, with marrow bones, and a chine of beef of the victuals they have

* Sir Paul Neile, of White Waltham, Berks., eldest son to Neile, Archbishop of York.

† One of the Founders of the Royal Society, made a Privy Counsellor for Scotland after the Restoration.

‡ Daniel Whistler, Fellow of Merton College, took the degree of M. D. at Leyden, 1645; and after practising in London, went as Physician to the Embassy, with Bulstrode Whitlock, into Sweden. On his return he became Fellow, and at length President, of the College of Physicians. Ob. 1684.

§ Jonathan Goddard, M. D. F. R. S. He had been Physician to Cromwell.

made for this ship; and excellent company and good discourse: but, above all, I do value Sir William Petty. Thence home; and took my Lord Sandwich's draught of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself; which will be very neat.

20th. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's; which common people have already called Dunkirke-house, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that towne. And very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Barkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other.

21st. My Lady Sandwich tells me how my Lord Castlemaine is coming over from France, and is believed will soon be made friends with his Lady again. What mad freaks the Mayds of Honour at Court have: that Mrs. Jenings,* one

* Frances, daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq. of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, and eldest sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, married 1st., George Hamilton, afterwards knighted, and in the French service; and 2dly., Richard Talbot, created Duke of Tyrconnel. She died in Ireland, 1730. The anecdote here related will be found in the "Memoires de Grammont."

of the Dutchesse's maids, the other day dressed herself like an orange wench, and went up and down and cried oranges; till falling down, or by some accident her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deal of shame; that such as these tricks being ordinary, and worse among them, thereby few will venture upon them for wives: my Lady Castlemaine will in merriment say, that her daughter (not above a year old or two) will be the first mayd in the Court that will be married. This day my Lord Sandwich writ me word from the Downes, that he is like to be in town this week.

22d. At noon to the 'Change, busy; where great talk of a Dutch ship in the North put on shore, and taken by a troop of horse.

25th. At noon to the 'Change; where just before I come, the Swede that had told the King and the Duke so boldly a great lie of the Dutch flinging our men back to back into the sea at Guinny, so particularly, and readily, and confidently, was whipt round the 'Change: he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something.

27th. We to a Committee of the Council to discourse concerning pressing of men; but Lord!

how they meet; never sit down: one comes, now another goes, then comes another; one complaining that nothing is done, another swearing that he hath been there these two hours and nobody come. At last my Lord Annesly* says, "I think we must be forced to get the King to come to every committee; for I do not see that we do any thing at any time but when he is here." And I believe he said the truth: and very constant he is on council-days; which his predecessors, it seems, very rarely were. To Sir Philip Warwick's; and there he did contract with me a kind of friendship and freedom of communication, wherein he assures me to make me understand the whole business of the Treasurer of the Navy, that I shall know as well as Sir G. Carteret what money he hath; and will needs have me come to him sometimes, or he meet me, to discourse of things tending to the serving the King: and I am mighty proud and happy in becoming so known to such a man. And I hope shall pursue it.

March 1st. To Gresham College, where Mr. Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late Comet; among other things proving very

* Created Earl of Anglesea.

probably that this is the very same Comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion; but all will be in print. Then to the meeting, where Sir G. Carteret's two sons, his own, and Sir N. Slaning,* were admitted of the society: and this day I did pay my admission money, 40*s.* to the society.

4th. William Howe come to see me, being come up with my Lord from sea: he is grown a discreet, but very conceited fellow. He tells me how little respectfully Sir W. Pen did carry it to my Lord on board the Duke's ship at sea; and that Captain Minnes, a favourite of Prince Rupert's, do show my Lord little respect; but that every body else esteems my Lord as they ought. This day was proclaimed at the 'Change the war with Holland.

5th. To my Lord Sandwich's and dined with my Lord; it being the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea: and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: "How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?" himself taking notice of it to

* Sir Nicholas Slaning, K. B. married a daughter of Sir George Carteret.

me, that he had hardly seen her the week before. At dinner he did use me with the greatest solemnity in the world, in carving for me, and nobody else, and calling often to my Lady to cut for me; and all the respect possible.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. Great preparations for his speedy return to sea. I saw him try on his buff coat and hat-piece covered with black velvet. It troubles me more to think of his venture, than of any thing else in the whole warr.

8th. This morning is brought me to the office the sad news of The London, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the Hope, and thence he was to go to sea in her; but a little on this side the buoy of the Nower, she suddenly blew up. About 24 men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved; the rest, being above 300, drowned: the ship breaking all in pieces, with 80 pieces of brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round-house above water. Sir J. Lawson hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them. I went to the

'Change, where the news taken very much to heart.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the City giving the King another ship for The London, that is lately blown up. It would be very handsome, and if well managed, might be done; but I fear if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done.

13th. This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them. This day I saw my Lord Castlemaine at St. James's, lately come from France.

17th. The Duke did give us some commands, and so broke up, not taking leave of him. But the best piece of newes is, that instead of a great many troublesome Lords, the whole business is to be left with the Duke of Albemarle to act as Admirall in his stead; which is a thing that do cheer my heart. For the other would have vexed us with attendance, and never done the business.

19th. Mr. Povy and I in his coach to Hyde

Parke, being the first day of the tour there. Where many brave ladies; among others, Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach asleep, with her mouth open. There was also my lady Kerneguy*, once my Lady Anne Hambleton.

20th. Creed and I had Mr. Povy's coach sent for us, and we to his house; where we did some business in order to the work of this day. Povy and I to my Lord Sandwich, who tells me that the Duke is not only a friend to the business, but to me, in terms of the greatest love and respect. The Duke did direct Secretary Bennet to declare his mind to the Tangier committee, that he approves of me for treasurer; and with a character of me to be a man whose industry and discretion he would trust soon as any man's in England: and did the like to my Lord Sandwich. So to White Hall to the committee of Tangier, where there were present, my Lord of Albemarle, my Lord Peterborough, Sandwich, Barkeley, Fitz-Harding, Secretary Bennet, Sir Thomas Ingram, Sir John Lawson, Povy and I. Where, after

* Daughter of William Duke of Hamilton, wife of Lord Carnegy, who became Earl of Southesk on his father's death. She is frequently mentioned in the "Mémoires de Grammont."

other business, Povy did declare his business very handsomely; that he was sorry he had been so unhappy in his accounts, as not to give their Lordships the satisfaction he intended, and that he was sure his accounts were right, and continues to submit them to examination, and is ready to lay down in ready money the fault of his account; and that for the future, that the work might be better done and with more quiet to him, he desired, by approbation of the Duke, he might resign his place to Mr. Pepys. Whereupon, Secretary Bennet did deliver the Duke's command, which was received with great content and allowance beyond expectation; the Secretary repeating also the Duke's character of me. And I could discern my Lord FitzHarding was well pleased with me, and signified full satisfaction, and whispered something seriously of me to the Secretary. And there I received their constitution under all their hands presently; so that I am already confirmed their treasurer, and put into a condition of striking of tallys; and all without one harsh word of dislike, but quite the contrary; which is a good fortune beyond all imagination.

22d. Sir William Petty did tell me that in

good earnest he hath in his will left some parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of a woman; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says, that to him that invents gold, he gives nothing for the philosopher's stone; for (says he) they that find out that, will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to go to a lecture; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money. I saw the Duke, kissed his hand, and had his most kind expressions of his value and opinion of me, which comforted me above all things in the world: the like from Mr. Coventry most heartily and affectionately. Saw, among other fine ladies, Mrs. Middleton, * a very great beauty; and I saw Waller † the poet, whom I never saw before.

* Jane, daughter to Sir Robert Needham, frequently mentioned in the "Mémoires de Grammont." Her portrait is at Windsor Castle amongst the beauties of Charles II.'s Court.

† Edmund Waller.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich, who follows the Duke this day by water down to the Hope, where The Prince lies. He received me, busy as he was, with mighty kindness and joy at my promotions; telling me most largely how the Duke hath expressed on all occasions his good opinion of my service and love for me. I paid my thanks and acknowledgement to him; and so back home, where at the office all the morning.

27th. Up betimes to Mr. Povy's, and there did sign and seal my agreement with him about my place of being treasurer for Tangier. Thence to the Duke of Albemarle, the first time that we officers of the Navy have waited upon him since the Duke of York's going, who hath deputed him to be Admirall in his absence. And I find him a quiet heavy man, that will help business when he can, and hinder nothing. I did afterwards alone give him thanks for his favour to me about my Tangier business, which he received kindly, and did speak much of his esteem of me. Thence, and did the same to Sir H. Bennet, who did the like to me very fully.

April 1st. With Sir G. Carteret, Sir. W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes to my Lord Treasurer,

and there did lay open the expence for the six months past, and an estimate of the seven months to come, to November next: the first arising to above 500,000*l.*, and the latter will, as we judge, come to above 1,000,000*l.* But to see how my Lord Treasurer did bless himself, crying he would do no more than he could, nor give more money than he had, if the occasion and expence were never so great, which is but a bad story.

3d. To a play at the Duke's, of my Lord Orrery's, called "Mustapha,"* which being not good, made Beterton's part and Ianthe's but ordinary too. All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine were there; and pretty witty Nell, † at the King's house, and the younger Marshall sat next us; which pleased me mightily.

6th. Great talk of a new Comet; and it is certain do appear as bright as the late one at the best; but I have not seen it myself.

7th. Sir Philip Warwick did show me nakedly the King's condition for money for the Navy; and he do assure me, unless the King can get some noblemen or rich money-gentlemen to lend him

* There was another tragedy of this name, by Fulk, Lord Brook.

† Nel Gwynne.

money, or to get the City to do it, it is impossible to find money: we having already, as he says, spent one year's share of the three-years tax, which comes to 2,500,000*l.*

10th. My Lord Brouncker took me and Sir Thomas Harvy in his coach to the Park, which is very troublesome with the dust; and ne'er a great beauty there to day but Mrs. Middleton.

12th. Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvy, and myself, down to my Lord Treasurer's chamber to him and the Chancellor, and the Duke of Albemarle; and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy, and want of money. But strange to see how they hold up their hands, crying, "What shall we do?" Says my Lord Treasurer, "Why what means all this, Mr. Pepys? This is true, you say; but what would you have me to do. I have given all I can for my life? Why will not people lend their money? Why will they not trust the King as well as Oliver? Why do our prizes come to nothing, that yielded so much heretofore?" And this was all we could get, and went away without other answer.

16th. Captain Taylor can, as he says, show the

very originall Charter to Worcester, of King Edgar's, wherein he stiles himself, Rex Marium Britanniæ, &c.; which is the great text that Mr. Selden and others do quote, but imperfectly and upon trust. But he hath the very originall, which he says he will show me.

17th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, where he showed me Mr. Coventry's letters, how three Dutch privateers are taken, in one whereof Everson's son is captaine. But they have killed poor Captaine Golding in The Diamond. Two of them, one of 32 and the other of 20 odd guns, did stand stoutly up against her, which hath 46, and the Yarmouth that hath 52 guns, and as many more men as they. So that they did more than we could expect, not yielding till many of their men were killed. And Everson, when he was brought before the Duke of York, and was observed to be shot through the hat, answered, that he wished it had gone through his head, rather than been taken. One thing more is written; that two of our ships the other day appearing upon the coast of Holland, they presently fired their beacons round the country to give them notice. And news is brought the King, that the Dutch Smyrna fleet is seen upon the back of Scotland; and

thereupon the King hath wrote to the Duke, that he do appoint a fleet to go to the Northward to try to meet them coming home round: which God send! Thence to White Hall; where the King seeing me, did come to me, and calling me by name, did discourse with me about the ships in the River: and this is the first time that ever I knew the King did know me personally; so that hereafter I must not go thither, but with expectation to be questioned, and to be ready to give good answers.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and by water to White Hall; and there took coach, and with Mr. Moore to Chelsy; where, after all my fears what doubts and difficulties my Lord Privy Seale* would make at my Tangier Privy Seale, he did pass it at first reading, without my speaking with him. And then called me in, and was very civil to me. I passed my time in contemplating (before I was called in) the picture of my Lord's son's lady, a most beautiful woman, and most like to Mrs. Butler. Thence very much joyed to London back again, and found out Mr. Povy; told him this; and then went and left my Privy Seale at my Lord Treasurer's; and so to the

* John Lord Roberts.

'Change, and thence to Trinity-house; where a great dinner of Captain Crisp, who is made an Elder Brother. And so, being very pleasant at dinner, away home, Creed with me; and there met Povy; and we to Gresham College.

20th. This night I am told the first play is played in White Hall noon-hall, which is now turned to a house of playing.

23rd. To White Hall chapel, and heard the famous young Stillingfleete,* whom I knew at Cambridge, and he is now newly admitted one of the King's chaplains. And was presented, they say, to my Lord Treasurer for St. Andrew's Holborn, where he is now minister, with these words: that they (the Bishops of Canterbury, London, and another) believed he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles. He did make a most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner, that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people, "Fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that he hath done for you." It being proper to this day, the day of the

* Edward Stillingfleet, a most learned Divine, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, 1689. Ob. 1699.

King's Coronation. Thence to the Cocke-pitt, and there walked an hour with my Lord Duke of Albemarle alone in his garden, where he expressed in great words his opinion of me; that I was the right hand of the Navy here, nobody but I taking any care of any thing therein; so that he should not know what could be done without me. At which I was (from him) not a little proud.

28th. Down the River to visit the victualling-ships, where I find all out of order. And come home to dinner, and then to write a letter to the Duke of Albemarle about them, and carried it myself to the Council-chamber; and when they rose, my Lord Chancellor passing by stroked me on the head, and told me that the Board had read my letter, and taken order for the punishing of the watermen for not appearing on board the ships. And so did the King afterwards, who do now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business.

30th. Thus I end this month in great content as to my estate and gettings: in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect to meet with, about the business of Tangier. The fleet, with about 106 ships upon the coast of Holland, in sight of the Dutch, within the Texel.

Great fears of the sicknesse here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all!

May 1st. I met my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murrey, Dean Wilkins, and Mr. Hooke, going by coach to Colonel Blunt's* to dinner. So they stopped and took me with them. Landed at the Tower-wharf, and thence by water to Greenwich; and there coaches met us; and to his house, a very stately sight for situation and brave plantations; and among others, a vine-yard, the first that ever I did see. No extraordinary dinner, nor any other entertainment good; but afterwards to the tryal of some experiments about making of coaches easy. And several we tried; but one did prove mighty easy, (not here for me to describe, but the whole body of the coach lies upon one long spring,) and we all, one after another, rid in it; and it is very fine and likely to

* Wricklesmarsh, in the parish of Charlton, which belonged, in 1617, to Edward Blount, Esq., whose family alienated it towards the end of the seventeenth century. The old mansion was pulled down by Sir Gregory Page, Bart., who erected a magnificent stone structure on the site; which, devolving to his great nephew, Sir Gregory Page Turner, shared the same fate as the former house, having been sold in lots in 1784.

take. Thence to Deptford, and in to Mr. Evelyn's,* which is a most beautiful place; but it being dark and late, I staid not; but Dean Wilkins and Mr. Hooke and I, walked to Redriffe; and noble discourse all day long did please me.

3rd. My Lord Chief-Justice Hide did die suddenly this week, a day or two ago, of an apoplexy.

5th. After dinner, to Mr. Evelyn's; he being abroad, we walked in his garden, and a lovely noble ground he hath indeed. And among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly.

10th. To the Cocke-pitt, where the Duke did give Sir W. Batten and me an account of the late taking of eight ships, and of his intent to come back to the Gunfleete with the fleet presently; which creates us much work and haste therein, against the fleet comes. And thence to the Guard in Southwarke, there to get some soldiers, by the Duke's order, to go keep pressmen on board our ships.

14th. To church, it being Whit-sunday; my

* Says-Court, the well known residence of John Evelyn, Esq.

wife very fine in a new yellow bird's-eye hood, as the fashion is now. I took a coach, and to Wemstead, the house where Sir H. Mildmay died, and now Sir Robert Brookes* lives, having bought it of the Duke of York, it being forfeited to him. A fine seat, but an old-fashioned house; and being not full of people looks flatly.

17th. The Duchesse of York went down yesterday to meet the Duke.

18th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where we did examine Nixon and Stanesby, about their late running from two Dutchmen; for which they were committed to a vessel to carry them to the fleet to be tried. A most fowle unhandsome thing as ever was heard, for plain cowardice on Nixon's part.

23d. Late comes Sir Arthur Ingram† to my office, to tell me, that, by letters from Amsterdam of the 18th of this month, the Dutch fleet, being about 100 men-of-war, besides fire-ships, &c. did set

* Sir Robert Brookes, Lord of the Manor of Wanstead, from 1662 to 1667. M. P. for Aldborough in Suffolk. He afterwards retired to France, and died there in bad circumstances. From a letter among the *Pepys MSS.*, Sir Robert Brookes appears to have been drowned in the river at Lyons.

† Sir Arthur Ingram, Knight, of Knottingley, Surveyor of the Customs at Hull.

out upon the 13th and 14th inst. Being divided into seven squadrons, viz. 1. General Opdam. 2. Cottenar,* of Rotterdam. 3. Trump. 4. Schram, of Horne. 5. Stillingworth, of Freezland. 6. Everson. 7. One other, not named, of Zealand.

24th. To the Coffee-house, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this town; and of remedies against it: some saying one thing, and some another.

26th. In the evening by water to the Duke of Albemarle, whom I found mightily off the hooks, that the ships are not gone out of the River; which vexed me to see.

28th. I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death, for his cowardice, by a Council of War. To my Lady Sandwich's, where, to my shame, I had not been a great while. Here, upon my telling her a story of my Lord Rochester's † running away on Friday night last with Mrs. Mallett,‡ the great beauty and fortune of the

* Died of his wounds after the sea-fight in 1665.

† John second Earl of Rochester, celebrated for his wit and profligacy. Ob. 1680.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter of John Mallett, Esq. of Enmere, co. Somerset; married soon afterwards to the Earl of Rochester.

North, who had supped at White Hall with Mrs. Stewart, and was going home to her lodgings with her grand-father, my Lord Haly,* by coach; and was at Charing Cross seized on by both horse and foot-men, and forcibly taken from him, and put into a coach with six horses, and two women provided to receive her, and carried away. Upon immediate pursuit, my Lord of Rochester (for whom the King had spoke to the lady often, but with no success,) was taken at Uxbridge; but the lady is not yet heard of, and the King mighty angry, and the Lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my Lady did confess to me, as a great secret, her being concerned in this story. For if this match breaks between my Lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all her friends, my Lord Hinchingbroke stands fair, and is invited for her. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, (who keeps but a little from her,) 2500*l.* per annum. Pray God give a good success to it! But my poor Lady who is afraid

* Sir Francis Hawley of Buckland House, co. Somerset, created a Baronet 1642, and in 1646 an Irish Peer, by the title of Baron Hawley of Donamore; in 1671 he was chosen M. P. for St. Michael's, and in 1673 became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. Ob. 1684, aged 76.

of the sickness, and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three about it, to see the event of it. Thence to see my Lady Pen, where my wife and I were shown a fine rarity: of fishes kept in a glass of water, that will live so for ever; and finely marked they are, being foreign.

29th. We have every where taken some prizes. Our merchants had good luck to come home safe; Colliers from the North, and some Streights men, just now. And our Hambrough ships, of whom we were so much afraid, are safe in Hambrough. Our fleete resolve to sail out again from Harwich in a day or two.

31st. To the 'Change, where great the noise and trouble of having our Hambrough ships lost; and that very much placed upon Mr. Coventry's forgetting to give notice to them of the going away of our fleet from the coast of Holland. But all without reason, for he did; but the merchants not being ready, staid longer than the time ordered for the convoy to stay, which was ten days.

June 1st. After dinner I put on my new camelott suit; the best that ever I wore in my life, the suit costing me above 24*l*. In this I went with

Creed to Goldsmiths' Hall, to the burial of Sir Thomas Viner;* which Hall, and Haberdashers' also, was so full of people, that we were fain for ease and coolness to go forth to Pater Noster Row, to choose a silk to make me a plain ordinary suit. That done, we walked to Cornehill, and there at Mr. Cade's stood in the balcon and saw all the funeral, which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c. and the number of the company very great: the greatest I ever did see for a taverne.

3rd. All this day by all people upon the River, and almost every where else hereabout were heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being engaged; which was confirmed by letters from Harwich, but nothing particular: and all our hearts full of concernment for the Duke, and I particularly for my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Coventry after his Royall Highness.

6th. To my Lady Sandwich's; who, poor lady, expects every hour to hear of my Lord; but in the best temper, neither confident nor troubled with fear, that I ever did see in my life. She tells me my Lord Rochester is now declaredly out of hopes of Mrs. Mallett, and now she is to receive

* Sheriff of London 1648, Lord Mayor 1654.

notice in a day or two how the King stands inclined to the giving leave for my Lord Hinchingbroke to look after her, and that being done, to bring it to an end shortly.

7th. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us," writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw.

8th. I to my Lord Treasurer's by appointment of Sir Thomas Ingram's, to meet the Goldsmiths; where I met with the great news at last newly come, brought by Bab. May * from the Duke of York, that we have totally routed the Dutch; that the Duke himself, the Prince, my Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Coventry are all well: which did put me into such joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts. With great joy to the Cockepitt; where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of himself, with content new-told me all: and by and by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry's own hand to him, which he never opened, (which was

* Baptist May, keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II.; there is an original portrait of him by Lely, at Audley End.

a strange thing,) but did give it me to open and read, and consider what was fit for our office to do in it, and leave the letter with Sir W. Clerke; which upon such a time and occasion was a strange piece of indifference, hardly possible. I copied out the letter, and did also take minutes out of Sir W. Clerke's other letters; and the sum of the news is:—

Victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665.

This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle * killed on board the Duke's ship, the Royall Charles, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earle of Marlborough, Portland, Rear-Admirall Sansum (to Prince Rupert) killed, and Capt. Kerby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on the knee: hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt, he sent to the Duke for another to

* Second son to the Earl of Burlington.

command the Royal Oake. The Duke sent Jordan out of the St. George, who did brave things in her. Capt. Jer. Smith of the Mary was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton of the Urania, (76 guns and 400 men) who had sworn to board the Duke; killed him 200 men, and took the ship; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved, with his leg cut off. Admirall Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes; all the rest of their admiralls, as they say, but Everson, (whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange,) are killed: we having taken and sunk, as is believed, about 24 of their best ships; killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled, some 43 got into the Texell, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest.

9th. To White Hall, and in my way met with Mr. Moore, who eases me in one point wherein I was troubled; which was, that I heard of nothing said or done by my Lord Sandwich: but he tells me that Mr. Cowling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, did hear the King say that my Lord Sand-

wich had done nobly and worthily. The King, it seems, is much troubled at the fall of my Lord Falmouth; but I do not meet with any man else that so much as wishes him alive again, the world conceiving him a man of too much pleasure to do the King any good, or offer any good office to him. But I hear of all hands he is confessed to have been a man of great honour, that did show it in this his going with the Duke, the most that ever any man did.

10th. In the evening home to supper; and there, to my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City (though it hath these three or four weeks since its beginning been wholly out of the City); but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett,* in Fanchurch Street: which in both points troubles me mightily

11th. I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good-will among his neighbours; for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord: which was very handsome.

13th. At noon with Sir G. Carteret to my Lord

* He was a Physician.

Mayor's to dinner, where much company in a little room. His name, Sir John Lawrence. Here were at table three Sir Richard Brownes, viz.: he of the Councill, a clerk, and the Alderman, and his son; and there was a little grandson also Richard, who will hereafter be Sir Richard Browne. My Lord Mayor very respectfull to me.

14th. I met with Mr. Cowling, who observed to me how he finds every body silent in the praise of my Lord Sandwich, to set up the Duke and the Prince; but that the Duke did both to the King and my Lord Chancellor write abundantly of my Lord's courage and service. And I this day met with a letter of Captain Ferrers, wherein he tells how my Lord was with his ship in all the heat of the day, and did most worthily. To Westminster; and there saw my Lord Marlborough brought to be buried, several Lords of the Council carrying him, and with the herald in some state. This day the News-book (upon Mr. Moore's showing L'Estrange Captain Ferrers letter) did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory. The Duke of York not yet come to town. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid of it; there dying this last week of the plague 112, from 43 the week before, whereof

but one in Fanchurch-streete, and one in Broad-streete, by the Treasurer's office.

16th. After dinner, and doing some business at the office, I to White Hall, where the Court is full of the Duke and his courtiers returned from sea. All fat and lusty, and ruddy by being in the sun. I kissed his hands, and we waited all the afternoon. By and by saw Mr. Coventry, which rejoiced my very heart. Anon he and I, from all the rest of the company, walked into the Matted Gallery; where after many expressions of love, we fell to talk of business. Among other things, how my Lord Sandwich, both in his councils and personal service, hath done most honourably and serviceably. Sir J. Lawson is come to Greenwich; but his wound in his knee yet very bad. Jonas Poole, in the Vantguard, did basely, so as to be, or will be, turned out of his ship. Captain Holmes expecting upon Sansum's death to be made Rear-admirall to the Prince, (but Harman is put in) hath delivered up to the Duke his commission, which the Duke took and tore. He, it seems, had bid the Prince, who first told him of Holmes's intention, that he should dissuade him from it; for that he was resolved to take it if he offered it. Yet Holmes would do it, like a rash, proud coxcombe. But he is rich, and

hath, it seems, sought an occasion of leaving the service. Several of our captains have done ill. The great ships are the ships do the business, they quite deadening the enemy. They run away upon sight of the Prince. It is strange to see how people do already slight Sir William Barkeley,* my Lord FitzHarding's brother, who, three months since, was the delight of the Court. Captain Smith of the Mary the Duke talks mightily of; and some great thing will be done for him. Strange to hear how the Dutch do relate, as the Duke says, that they are the conquerors; and bonfires are made in Dunkirke in their behalf; though a clearer victory can never be expected. Mr. Coventry thinks they cannot have lost less than 6000 men, and we not dead above 200, and wounded about 400; in all about 600. Captain Grove, the Duke told us this day, hath done the basest thing at Lowestoffe, in hearing of the guns, and could not (as others) be got out, but staid there; for which he will be tried; and is reckoned a prating coxcombe, and of no courage.

17th. It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from Lord Trea-

* Killed in the sea-fight the following year. Vide June 16, 1666.

surer's down Holborne, the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and come down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind, he could not see; so I light and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also, lest he should have been struck with the plague. Sir John Lawson, I hear, is worse than yesterday: the King went to see him to-day most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hickup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms.

20th. Thankes-giving-day for victory over the Dutch. To the Dolphin Taverne, where all we officers of the Navy met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance by agreement, and dined: where good musique at my direction. Our club come to 34*s*. a man, nine of us. By water to Fox-hall, and there walked an hour alone, observing the several humours of the citizens that were there this holy-day, pulling off cherries, and God knows what. This day I informed myself that there died four of five at Westminster of the plague, in several houses upon Sunday last, in Bell-Alley, over against the Palace-gate: yet people do think that

the number will be fewer in the town than it was the last week. The Dutch are come out again with 20 sail under Banker: supposed gone to the Northward to meet their East India fleet.

21st. I find our tallys will not be money in less than sixteen months, which is a sad thing for the King to pay all that interest for every penny he spends; and, which is strange, the goldsmiths with whom I spoke, do declare that they will not be moved to part with money upon the increase of their consideration of ten per cent. which they have. I find all the town almost going out of town, the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country.

23rd. To a Committee for Tangier, where unknown to me comes my Lord of Sandwich, who, it seems, come to town last night. After the Committee was up, my Lord Sandwich did take me aside in the robe-chamber, telling me how much the Duke and Mr. Coventry did, both in the fleet and here, make of him, and that in some opposition to the Prince; and as a more private message, he told me that he hath been with them both when they have made sport of the Prince and laughed at him: yet that all the discourse of the town, and the printed relation, should not

give him one word of honour my Lord thinks very strange; he assuring me, that though by accident the Prince was in the van in the beginning of the fight for the first pass, yet all the rest of the day my Lord was in the van, and continued so. That notwithstanding all this noise of the Prince, he had hardly a shot in his side or a man killed, whereas he above 30 in her hull, and not one mast whole nor yard; but the most battered ship of the fleet, and lost most men, saving Captain Smith of the Mary. That the most the Duke did was almost out of gun-shot; but that, indeed, the Duke did come up to my Lord's rescue after he had a great while fought with four of them. How poorly Sir John Lawson performed, notwithstanding all that was said of him; and how his ship turned out of the way while Sir J. Lawson himself was upon the deck to the endangering of the whole fleet. From that discourse my Lord did begin to tell me how much he was concerned to dispose of his children, and would have my advice and help; and propounded to match my Lady Jemimah to Sir G. Carteret's*

* Philip Carteret, afterwards knighted. He perished on board Lord Sandwich's flag-ship at the battle of Solebay.

eldest son, which I approved of, and did undertake the speaking with him about it as from myself, which my Lord liked. Home by hackney-coach, which is become a very dangerous passage now-a-days, the sickness encreasing mightily.

24th. To Dr. Clerke's, and there I in the best manner I could, broke my errand about a match between Sir G. Carteret's eldest son and my Lord Sandwich's eldest daughter, which he (as I knew he would) took with great content: and he did undertake to find out Sir George this morning, and put the business in execution. So I to White Hall, where I with Creed and Povy attended my Lord Treasurer, and did prevail with him to let us have an assignment for 15 or 20,000*l.* which, I hope, will do our business for Tangier. To Sir G. Carteret, and in the best manner I could, moved the business: he received it with great respect and content, and thanks to me, and promised that he would do what he possibly could for his son, to render him fit for my Lord's daughter, and showed great kindness to me, and sense of my kindness to him herein. Sir William Pen told me this day that Mr. Coventry is to be sworn a Privy Counsellor, at which my soul is glad.

25th. To White Hall, where, after I again visited Sir G. Carteret, and received his (and now his Lady's) full content in my proposal, my Lord Sandwich did direct me to return to Sir G. Carteret, and give him thanks for his kind acceptation of this offer, and that he would the next day be willing to enter discourse with him about the business. My Lord, I perceive, intends to give 5000*l.* with her, and expects about 800*l.* *per annum* joynture. To Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir J. Lawson, where, when I come, I find that he died this morning; and indeed the nation hath a great loss. Mr. Coventry, among other talk, entered about the great question now in the House about the Duke's going to sea again; about which the whole House is divided. The plague encreases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street shut up; which is a sad sight.

28th. I did take my leave of Sir William Coventry, who it seems was knighted, and sworn a Privy-Counsellor two days since; who with his old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever find a noble friend. In my way to Westminster

SIR. WILLIAM COVENTRY, M.P.

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Hall, I observed several plague houses in King's street and the Palace.

29th. To White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267; which is about ninety more than the last: and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Took leave again of Mr. Coventry; though I hope the Duke is not gone to stay, and so do others too. Home; calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too: the Queene-Mother setting out for France this day to drink Bourbon waters this year, she being in a consumption; and intends not to come till winter come twelve-months.

30th. Thus this book of two years ends. Myself and family in good health, consisting of myself and wife, Mercer, her woman, Mary, Alce, and Susan our maids, and Tom my boy. In a sickly time of the plague growing on. Having upon my hands the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier, with great sums drawn upon me, and nothing to pay them with: also the business of the office great. Considering of removing my wife

to Woolwich; she lately busy in learning to paint, with great pleasure and successe. All other things well; especially a new interest I am making, by a match in hand between the eldest son of Sir G. Carteret, and my Lady Jemimah Montagu. The Duke of York gone down to the fleet; but all suppose not with intent to stay there, as it is not fit, all men conceive, he should.

July 1st. Sad at the news that seven or eight houses in Burying Hall* street, are shut up of the plague.

2d. Sir G. Carteret did send me word that the business between my Lord and him is fully agreed on, and is mightily liked of by the King and the Duke of York. Sir J. Lawson was buried late last night at St. Dunstan's by us, without any company at all.

4th. I hear this day the Duke and Prince Rupert are both come back from sea, and neither of them go back again. Mr. Coventry tells me how matters are ordered in the fleet: my Lord Sandwich goes Admiral; under him Sir G. Ascue, and Sir T. Teddiman: Vice-Admiral, Sir W. Pen; and under him Sir W. Barkeley, and Sir Jos. Jordan:

* Probably Basinghall.

Rear-Admiral, Sir Thomas Allen; and under him Sir Christopher Mings, and Captain Harman. Walked round to White Hall, the Park being quite locked up; and I observed a house shut up this day in the Pell Mell, where heretofore in Cromwell's time we young men used to keep our weekly clubs.

6th. Alderman Backewell is ordered abroad upon some private score with a great sum of money; wherein I was instrumental the other day in shipping him away. It seems some of his creditors have taken notice of it, and he was like to be broke yesterday in his absence: Sir G. Carteret telling me that the King and the kingdom must as good as fall with that man at this time; and that he was forced to get 4000*l.* himself to answer Backewell's people's occasions, or he must have broke; but committed this to me as a great secret. I could not see Lord Brouncker, nor had much mind, one of the great houses within two doors of him being shut up: and Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town quite round in my way by Long Lane and London Wall. Sir W. Pen, it seems, sailed last night from Solebay with about sixty sail of

ship, and my Lord Sandwich in the Prince and some others, it seems, going after them to overtake them.

7th. At this time I have two tierces of Claret, two quarter casks of Canary, and a smaller vessel of Sack; a vessel of Tent, another of Malaga, and another of white wine, all in my wine cellar together.

9th. I took occasion to have much discourse with Mr. Ph. Carteret, and find him a very modest man; and I think verily of mighty good nature, and pretty understanding. He did give me a good account of the fight with the Dutch. Having promised Harman yesterday, I to his house: the most observable thing I found there to my content, was to hear him and his clerk tell me that in this parish of Michell's Cornhill, one of the middlemost parishes and a great one of the town, there hath, notwithstanding this sickliness, been buried of any disease, man, woman, or child, not one for thirteen months last past; which is very strange. And the like in a good degree in most other parishes, I hear, saving only of the plague in them.

12th. A solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us.

13th. Above 700 died of the plague this week.

14th. I by water to Sir G. Carteret's, and there find my Lady Sandwich buying things for my Lady Jem's wedding: and my Lady Jem is beyond expectation come to Dagenham's,* where Mr. Carteret is to go to visit her to-morrow; and my proposal of waiting on him, he being to go alone to all persons strangers to him, was well accepted, and so I go with him. But Lord! to see how kind my Lady Carteret is to her! Sends her most rich jewells, and provides bedding and things of all sorts most richly for her.

15th. Mr. Carteret and I to the ferry-place at Greenwich, and there staid an hour crossing the water to and again to get our coach and horses over; and by and by set out, and so toward Dagenhams. But Lord! what silly discourse we had as to love-matters, he being the most awkerd man ever I met with in my life as to that busi-

* Dagenhams near Romford, now belonging to Sir Thomas Neave, Bart. This estate was devised by Mrs. Anne Rider, only surviving child of Sir Henry Wright, to her relative and friend Edward Carteret, Esq., Postmaster-General; whose daughters in 1749 sold it to Henry Muilman, Esq.; in 1772 it was again disposed of to Mr. Neave, father of the present proprietor, who pulled down the old house built by Sir H. W., and erected the present mansion on a different site. Vide *Lysons's Environs.*

ness. Thither we come, and by that time it begun to be dark, and were kindly received by Lady Wright and my Lord Crewe. And to discourse they went, my Lord discoursing with him, asking of him questions of travell, which he answered well enough in a few words; but nothing to the lady from him at all. To supper, and after supper to talk again, he yet taking no notice of the lady. My Lord would have had me have consented to leaving the young people together to-night, to begin their amours, his staying being but to be little. But I advised against it, lest the lady might be too much surprised. So they led him up to his chamber, where I staid a little, to know how he liked the lady, which he told me he did mightily; but Lord! in the dullest insipid manner that ever lover did. So I bid him good night, and down to prayers with my Lord Crewe's family, and after prayers, my Lord and Lady Wright, and I, to consult what to do; and it was agreed at last to have them go to church together, as the family used to do, though his lameness was a great objection against it.

16th. (Lord's-day.) I up, having lain with Mr. Moore in the chaplin's chamber. And having trimmed myself, down to Mr. Carteret; and we

walked in the gallery an hour or two, it being a most noble and pretty house that ever, for the bigness, I saw. Here I taught him what to do: to take the lady always by the hand to lead her, and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them together, he should make these and these compliments, and also take a time to do the like to Lord Crewe and Lady Wright. After I had instructed him, which he thanked me for, owning that he needed my teaching him, my Lord Crewe come down and family, the young lady among the rest; and so by coaches to church four miles off: where a pretty good sermon, and a declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Churche's censure for his wicked life. Thence back again by coach, Mr. Carteret having not had the confidence to take his lady once by the hand, coming or going, which I told him of when we come home, and he will hereafter do it. So to dinner. My Lord excellent discourse. Then to walk in the gallery, and to sit down. By and by my Lady Wright and I go out, (and then my Lord Crewe, he not by design,) and lastly my Lady Crewe come out, and left the young people together. And a little pretty daughter of my Lady Wright's most innocently come out

afterwards, and shut the door to, as if she had done it, poor child, by inspiration: which made us without have good sport to laugh at. They together an hour, and by and by church-time, whither he led her into the coach and into the church, where several handsome ladies. But it was most extraordinary hot that ever I knew it. Anon to supper, and excellent discourse and dispute between my Lord Crewe and the chaplin, who is a good scholler, but a nonconformist. Here this evening I spoke with Mrs. Carter, my old acquaintance, that hath lived with my Lady these twelve or thirteen years, the sum of all whose discourse and others for her, is, that I would get her a good husband; which I have promised, but know not when I shall perform. After Mr. Carteret was carried to his chamber, we to prayers and then to bed.

17th. Up all of us, and to billiards; my Lady Wright, Mr. Carteret, myself, and every body. By and by the young couple left together. Anon to dinner; and after dinner Mr. Carteret took my advice about giving to the servants 10*l.* among them. Before we went, I took my Lady Jem. apart, and would know how she liked this gentleman, and whether she was under any difficulty concerning him. She blushed, and hid her face

awhile; but at last I forced her to tell me. She answered that she could readily obey what her father and mother had done; which was all she could say, or I expect. So anon took leave, and for London. In our way Mr. Carteret did give me mighty thanks for my care and pains for him, and is mightily pleased.

18th. I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster, how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle-fields, pretending want of room elsewhere; whereas the new chapel church-yard was walled-in at the publick charge in the last plague-time, merely for want of room and now none, but such as are able to pay dear for it, can be buried there.

20th. Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost every where. There dying 1089 of the plague this week. My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me. I received yesterday a letter from my Lord Sandwich, giving me thanks for my care about their marriage business, and desiring it to be dispatched, that no disappointment may happen therein.

21st. Late in my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

22d. The Duke of Albemarle being gone to dinner to my Lord of Canterbury's, I thither, and there walked and viewed the new hall, a new old-fashion hall as possible. Begun, and means left for the ending of it, by Bishop Juxon. To Fox-hall, where to the Spring garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of any body to come thither. I by coach home, not meeting with but two coaches, and but two carts from White Hall to my own house, that I could observe; and the streets mighty thin of people. All the news is great: that we must of necessity fall out with France, for He will side with the Dutch against us. That Alderman Backewell is gone over (which indeed he is,) with money, and that Ostend is in our present possession. But it is strange to see how poor Alderman Backewell is like to be put to it in his absence, Mr. Shaw his right hand being ill. And the Alderman's absence gives doubts to people, and I perceive they are in great straits for money, besides what Sir G. Carteret told me about fourteen days ago. Our fleet under my Lord Sandwich being about the latitude 55½ (which is a great secret) to the Northward of the Texell.

23rd. To Hampton Court, where I followed the

King to chapel, and there heard a good sermon; and after sermon with my Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Ingram and others, spoke to the Duke about Tangier, but not to much purpose. I was not invited any whither to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers: but, however, Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriott's the house-keeper, and there we had a very good dinner and good company, among others Lilly, the painter.

24th. I find Mr. Carteret yet as backward almost in his caresses, as he was the first day.

25th. Sad the story of the plague in the City, it growing mightily. This day my Lord Brouncker did give me Mr. Grant's book upon the Bills of Mortality, new printed and enlarged. This day come a letter to me from Paris, from my Lord Hinchingbroke, about his coming over; and I have sent this night an order from the Duke of Albemarle for a ship of 36 guns to go to Calais to fetch him.

26th. To Greenwich to the Park, where I heard the King and Duke are come by water this morn from Hampton Court. They asked me several questions. The King mightily pleased with his

new buildings there. I followed them to Castle's ship in building, and there met Sir W. Batten, and thence to Sir G. Carteret's, where all the morning with them; they not having any but the Duke of Monmouth, and Sir W. Killigrew,* and one gentleman, and a page more. Great variety of talk, and was often led to speak to the King and Duke. By and by they to dinner, and all to dinner and sat down to the King saving myself. The King having dined, he came down, and I went in the barge with him, I sitting at the door. Down to Woolwich (and there I just saw and kissed my wife, and saw some of her painting, which is very curious; and away again to the King,) and back again with him in the barge, hearing him and the Duke talk, and seeing and observing their manner of discourse. And God forgive me! though I admire them with all the duty possible, yet the more a man considers and observes them, the less he finds of difference between them and other men, though (blessed be God!) they are both princes of great nobleness and spirits. The Duke of Monmouth is the most skittish leaping gallant that ever I saw, always in action, vaulting or leaping, or clambering. Sad

* Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

news of the death of so many in the parish of the plague, forty last night. The bell always going. This day poor Robin Shaw at Backewell's died, and Backewell himself now in Flanders. The King himself asked about Shaw, and being told he was dead, said he was very sorry for it. The sickness is got into our parish this week, and is got, indeed, every where; so that I begin to think of setting things in order, which I pray God enable me to put both as to soul and body.

27th. To Hampton Court, where I saw the King and Queene set out towards Salisbury, and after them the Duke and Duchesse, whose hands I did kiss. And it was the first time I did ever, or did see any body else, kiss her hand, and it was a most fine white and fat hand. But it was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribbands, and with laced bands, just like men. Only the Duchesse herself it did not become. At home met the weekly Bill, where above 100 encreased in the Bill, and of them, in all about 1700 of the plague, which hath made the officers this day resolve of sitting at Deptford, which puts me to some consideration what to do.

28th. Set out with my Lady Sandwich all alone

with her with six horses to Dagenhams; going by water to the Ferry. And a pleasant going, and a good discourse; and when there, very merry, and the young couple now well acquainted. But Lord! to see in what fear all the people here do live. How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it, and wish myself away. But some cause they have; for the chaplin, with whom but a week or two ago we were here mighty high disputing, is since fallen into a fever and dead, being gone hence to a friend's a good way off. A sober and a healthful man. These considerations make us all hasten the marriage, and resolve it upon Monday next.

30th. It was a sad noise to hear our bell to toll and ring so often to-day, either for deaths or burials; I think five or six times.

31st. Up; and very betimes by six o'clock at Deptford, and there find Sir G. Carteret, and my Lady ready to go: I being in my new coloured silk suit, and coat trimmed with gold buttons and gold broad lace round my hands, very rich and fine. By water to the Ferry, where, when we come, no coach there; and tide of ebb so far spent as the horse-boat could not get off on the other side the river to bring away the coach. So we

were fain to stay there in the unlucky Isle of Doggs, in a chill place, the morning cool, and wind fresh, above two if not three hours to our great discontent. Yet being upon a pleasant errand, and seeing that it could not be helped, we did bear it very patiently; and it was worth my observing, to see how upon these two scores, Sir G. Carteret, the most passionate man in the world, and that was in greatest haste to be gone, did bear with it, and very pleasant all the while, at least not troubled much so as to fret and storm at it. Anon the coach comes: in the mean time there coming a news thither with his horse to go over, that told us he did come from Islington this morning; and that Proctor the vintner of the Miter in Wood-street, and his son, are dead this morning there, of the plague; he having laid out abundance of money there, and was the greatest vintner for some time in London for great entertainments. We, fearing the canonicall hour would be past before we got thither, did with a great deal of unwillingness send away the licence and wedding-ring. So that when we come, though we drove hard with six horses, yet we found them gone from home; and going towards the church, met them coming from church, which troubled us. But, however,

that trouble was soon over; hearing it was well done: they being both in their old clothes; my Lord Crewe giving her, there being three coach fulls of them. The young lady mighty sad, which troubled me; but yet I think it was only her gravity in a little greater degree than usual. All saluted her, but I did not till my Lady Sandwich did ask me whether I had saluted her or no. So to dinner, and very merry we were; but in such a sober way as never almost any thing was in so great families: but it was much better. After dinner company divided, some to cards, others to talk. My Lady Sandwich and I up to settle accounts, and pay her some money. And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me gone down for company with her to Hinchinbroke; but for my life I cannot. At night to supper, and so to talk; and which, methought, was the most extraordinary thing, all of us to prayers as usual, and the young bride and bridegroom too: and so after prayers, soberly to bed; only I got into the bridegroom's chamber while he undressed himself, and there was very merry, till he was called to the bride's chamber, and into bed they went. I kissed the bride in bed, and so the curtaines drawne with the greatest gravity that could be, and so good

night. But the modesty and gravity of this business was so decent, that it was to me indeed ten times more delightful than if it had been twenty times more merry and jovial. Thus I ended this month with the greatest joy that ever I did any in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy, and honour, and pleasant journeys, and brave entertainments, and without cost of money; and at last live to see the business ended with great content on all sides. Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had; only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1700 or 1800 of the plague. My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about 100 sail, to the Northward, expecting De Ruyter, or the Dutch East India fleet. My Lord Hinchingbroke coming over from France, and will meet his sister at Scott's-hall. Myself having obliged both these families in this business very much; as both my Lady and Sir G. Carteret and his Lady do confess exceedingly, and the latter do also now call me cozen, which I am glad of. So God preserve us all friends long, and continue health among us.

August 3d. To Dagenhams. All the way peo-

ple, citizens, walking to and fro, enquire how the plague is in the City this week by the Bill; which by chance, at Greenwich, I had heard was 2020 of the plague, and 3000 and odd of all diseases. By and by met my Lord Crewe returning; Mr. Marr telling me by the way how a maid-servant of Mr. John Wright's (who lives thereabouts) falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who, being once absent, the maid got out of the house at the window, and run away. The nurse coming and knocking, and having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr. Wright so; who and his lady were in great strait what to do to get her buried. At last resolved to go to Burntwood hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not; so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frighted him worse than before; and was forced to send people to take her, which he did; and they got one of the pest coaches and put her into it to carry her to a pest house. And passing in a narrow lane, Sir Anthony Browne,* with his brother and some friends in

* He commanded a troop of horse in the Train-bands, 1662.

the coach, met this coach with the curtains drawn close. The brother being a young man, and believing there might be some lady in it that would not be seen, and the way being narrow, he thrust his head out of his own into her coach, and to look, and there saw somebody look very ill, and in a sick dress, and stunk mightily; which the coachman also cried out upon. And presently they come up to some people that stood looking after it, and told our gallants that it was a maid of Mr. Wrights carried away sick of the plague; which put the young gentleman into a fright had almost cost him his life, but is now well again.

5th. I am told of a great ryott upon Thursday last in Cheapeside; Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, having been taken, and in his way to the Tower was rescued from the captain of the guard, and carried away; one only of the rescuers being taken.

8th. To my office a little, and then to the Duke of Albemarle's about some business. The streets empty all the way, now even in London, which is a sad sight. And to Westminster Hall, where talking, hearing very sad stories from Mrs. Mumford; among others, of Mr. Michell's son's family. And poor Will. that used to sell us ale

at the Hall-door, his wife and three children died, all, I think, in a day. So home through the City again, wishing I may have taken no ill in going; but I will go, I think, no more thither. The news of De Ruyter's coming home is certain; and told to the great disadvantage of our fleet, and the praise of De Ruyter; but it cannot be helped.

10th. By and by to the office, where we sat all the morning; in great trouble to see the Bill this week rise so high, to above 4000 in all, and of them above 3000 of the plague. Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to dispatch by to-morrow night; the town growing so unhealthy, that a man cannot depend upon living two days.

12th. The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by day-light, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for ayre. There is one also dead out of one of our ships at Deptford, which troubles us mightily; the Providence, fire-ship, which was just fitted to go to sea. But they tell me to-day no more sick on board. And

this day W. Bodham tells me that one is dead at Woolwich, not far from the Rope-yard. I am told, too, that a wife of one of the groomes at Court is dead at Salisbury; so that the King and Queene are speedily to be all gone to Milton. So God preserve us!

15th. It was dark before I could get home, and so land at Church-yard stairs, where, to my great trouble, I met a dead corps of the plague, in the narrow ally just bringing down a little pair of stairs. But I thank God I was not much disturbed at it. However, I shall beware of being late abroad again.

16th. To the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'Change. Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up. This day I had the ill news from Dagenhams, that my poor Lord of Hinching-broke his indisposition is turned to the small-pox. Poor gentleman that he should be come from France so soon to fall sick, and of that disease too, when he should be gone to see a fine lady, his mistress. I am most heartily sorry for it.

18th. To Sheernesse, where we walked up and down, laying out the ground to be taken in for a yard to lay provisions for cleaning and repairing of ships, and a most proper place it is for the purpose.

19th. Come letters from the King and Lord Arlington, for the removal of our office to Greenwich. I also wrote letters, and made myself ready to go to Sir G. Carteret, at Windsor; and having borrowed a horse of Mr. Blackbrough, sent him to wait for me at the Duke of Albemarle's door: when, on a sudden, a letter comes to us from the Duke of Albemarle, to tell us that the fleet is all come back to Solebay, and are presently to be dispatched back again. Whereupon I presently by water to the Duke of Albemarle to know what news; and there I saw a letter from my Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle, and also from Sir W. Coventry and Captain Teddiman; how my Lord having commanded Teddiman with twenty-two ships (of which but fifteen could get thither, and of those fifteen but eight or nine could come up to play) to go to Bergen; where, after several messages to and fro from the Governor of the Castle, urging that Teddiman ought not to come thither

with more than five ships, and desiring time to think of it, all the while he suffering the Dutch ships to land their guns to the best advantage; Teddiman on the second presence, began to play at the Dutch ships, (whereof ten East India-men,) and in three hours' time (the town and castle, without any provocation, playing on our ships,) they did cut all our cables, so as the wind being off the land, did force us to go out, and rendered our fire-ships useless; without doing any thing, but what hurt of course our guns must have done them: we having lost five commanders, besides Mr. Edward Montagu, and Mr. Windham. Our fleet is come home to our great grief with not above five weeks' dry, and six days' wet provisions: however, must go out again; and the Duke hath ordered the Soveraigne, and all other ships ready, to go out to the fleet and strengthen them. This news troubles us all, but cannot be helped. Having read all this news, and received commands of the Duke with great content, he giving me the words which to my great joy he hath several times said to me, that his greatest reliance is upon me. And my Lord Craven also did come out to talk with me, and told me that I am in mighty esteem with the Duke, for which I

bless God. Home; and having given my fellow-officers an account hereof, to Chatham, and wrote other letters. I by water to Charing-Cross, to the post-house, and there the people tell me they are shut up; and so I went to the new post-house, and there got a guide and horses to Hounslow. So to Stanes, and there by this time it was dark night, and got a guide who lost his way in the forest, till by help of the moone (which recompences me for all the pains I ever took about studying of her motions,) I led my guide into the way back again; and so we made a man rise that kept a gate, and so he carried us to Cranborne.* Where in the dark I perceive an old house new building with a great deal of rubbish, and was fain to go up a ladder to Sir G. Carteret's chamber. And there in his bed I sat down, and told him all my bad news, which troubled him mightily; but yet we were very merry, and made the best of it; and being myself weary did take leave, and after having spoken with Mr. Fenn † in bed, I to bed in my Lady's chamber that she uses to

* One of the Lodges belonging to the Crown in Windsor Forest.

† Nicholas Fenne is mentioned as a Commissioner of the Victualling Office, 1683. *Pepys' MS. Letters.*

lie in, and where the Duchesse of York, that now is, was born. So to sleep; being very well, but weary, and the better by having carried with me a bottle of strong water; whereof now and then a sip did me good.

20th. I up and to walk forth to see the place; and I find it to be a very noble seat in a noble forest, with the noblest prospect towards Windsor, and round about over many countys, that can be desired; but otherwise a very melancholy place, and little variety save only trees. To Brainford; and there at the inn that goes down to the water-side, I light and paid off my post-horses, and so slipped on my shoes, and laid my things by, the tide not serving, and to church, where a dull sermon, and many Londoners. After church to my inn, and eat and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got between nine and ten to Queenhive,* very dark. And I could not get my waterman to go elsewhere for fear of the plague. Thence with a lanthorn, in great fear of meeting of dead corpses, carrying to be buried; but, blessed be God, met none, but did see now and then a linke (which is the mark of them) at a distance.

* Queenhithe

22d. I went away and walked to Greenwich, in my way seeing a coffin with a dead body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Coome farme, which was carried out last night, and the parish have not appointed any body to bury it; but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go thither or come thence: this disease making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs.

25th. This day I am told that Dr. Burnett, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague; which is strange, his man dying so long ago, and his house this month open again. Now himself dead. Poor unfortunate man!

28th. I think to take adieu to-day of the London streets. In much the best posture I ever was in in my life, both as to the quantity and the certainty I have of the money I am worth; having most of it in my hand. But then this is a trouble to me what to do with it, being myself this day going to be wholly at Woolwich; but for the present I am resolved to venture it in an iron chest, at least for a while.

30th. Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerke, who, upon my asking how the plague goes, told me it encreases much, and much in our parish;

for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six: which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places; and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth and walked towards Moorefields to see (God forgive my presumption!) whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But, Lord! how every body looks, and discourse in the street is of death, and nothing else, and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.

31st. Up; and after putting several things in order to my removal, to Woolwich; the plague having a great encrease this week, beyond all expectation of almost 2,000, making the general Bill 7,000, odd 100; and the plague above 6,000. Thus this month ends with great sadness upon the publick, through the greatness of the plague every where through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its encrease. In the City died this week 7496, and of them 6102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and

partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them. Our fleet gone out to find the Dutch, we having about 100 sail in our fleet, and in them the Soveraigne one; so that it is a better fleet than the former with which the Duke was. All our fear is that the Dutch should be got in before them; which would be a very great sorrow to the publick, and to me particularly, for my Lord Sandwich's sake. A great deal of money being spent, and the kingdom not in a condition to spare, nor a parliament without much difficulty to meet to give more. And to that; to have it said, what hath been done by our late fleets? As to myself I am very well, only in fear of the plague, and as much of an ague by being forced to go early and late to Woolwich, and my family to lie there continually. My late gettings have been very great to my great content, and am likely to have yet a few more profitable jobbs in a little while; for which Tangier and Sir W. Warren I am wholly obliged to.

Sept. 3d. (Lord's-day.) Up; and put on my coloured silk suit very fine, and my new periwigg, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the

fashion after the plague is done, as to periwiggs, for nobody will dare to buy any haire, for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I up to the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will (because they are forbid) come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up and in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it (having put it into new fresh clothes) to Greenwich; where upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town.

4th. Walked home, my Lord Brouncker giving me a very neat cane to walk with; but it troubled me to pass by Coome farme where about twenty-one people have died of the plague.

5th. After dinner comes Colonel Blunt in his new chariot made with springs; as that was of wicker, wherein a while since we rode at his house. And he hath rode, he says, now his journey, many miles in it with one horse, and outdrives any coach, and out-goes any horse, and so easy, he says. So for curiosity I went into it to try it, and up the hill to the heath, and over the cart-ruts and found it pretty well, but not so easy as he pretends.

6th. To London, to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the whole City, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and strange to see in broad daylight two or three burials upon the Bankeside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them. The Duke mighty pleasant with me; telling me that he is certainly informed that the Dutch were not come home upon

the 1st instant, and so he hopes our fleet may meet with them.

7th. To the Tower, and there sent for the Weekly Bill, and find 8252 dead in all, and of them 6978 of the plague; which is a most dreadful number, and shows reason to fear that the plague hath got that hold that it will yet continue among us. To Swakely * to Sir R. Viner's. A very pleasant place, bought by him of Sir James Harrington's lady. He took us up and down with great respect, and showed us all his house and grounds; and it is a place not very moderne in the garden nor house, but the most uniforme in all that ever I saw; and some things to excess. Pretty to see over the screene of the hall (put up by Sir J. Harrington, a Long Parliament-man) the King's head, and my Lord of Essex † on one side,

* Swakeley House, in the parish of Ickenham, Middlesex, was built in 1638 by Sir Edmund Wright, whose daughter marrying Sir James Harrington, one of Charles I.'s judges, he became possessed of it, *jure uxoris*. Sir Robert Vyner, Bart. to whom the property was sold in 1665, entertained Charles II. at Guildhall, when Lord Mayor. The house is now the residence of Thomas Clarke, Esq. whose father in 1750 bought the estate o Mr. Lethieullier, to whom it had been alienated by the Vyner family.—*Lysons's Environs.*

† The Parliament General.

and Fairfax on the other; and upon the other side of the screene, the parson of the parish, and the lord of the manor and his sisters. The window-cases, door-cases, and chimnys of all the house are marble. He showed me a black boy that he had, that died of a consumption, and being dead, he caused him to be dried in an oven, and lies there entire in a box. By and by to dinner, where his lady I find yet handsome, but hath been a very handsome woman: now is old. Hath brought him near 100,000*l.* and now he lives, no man in England in greater plenty, and commands both King and Council with his credit he gives them. After dinner Sir Robert led us up to his long gallery, very fine, above stairs, (and better, or such furniture I never did see.) A most pleasant journey we had back. Povy tells me by a letter he showed me, that the King is not, nor hath been of late, very well, but quite out of humour; and, as some think, in a consumption, and weary of every thing. He showed me my Lord Arlington's house that he was born in, in a towne called Harlington: and so carried me through a most pleasant country to Brainford, and there put me into my boat, and good night. So I wrapped

myself warm, and by water got to Woolwich about one in the morning.

9th. I was forced to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where I find Sir W. Doyly,* and he and Evelyn at supper; and I with them full of discourse of the neglect of our masters, the great officers of State, about all business, and especially that of money: having now some thousands prisoners kept to no purpose at a great charge, and no money provided almost for the doing of it. We fell to talk largely of the want of some persons understanding to look after businesses, but all goes to rack. "For," says Captain Cocke, "my Lord Treasurer, he minds his ease, and lets things go how they will: if he can have his 8000*l.* per annum, and a game at l'ombre, he is well. My Lord Chancellor he minds getting of money and nothing else; and my Lord Ashly will rob the Devil and the Alter, but he will get money if it be to be got." But that which put us into this great melancholy, was news brought to-day, which Captain Cocke

* Sir William Doyly, of Shottisham, Norfolk, knighted 1642, created a Baronet 1663. M. P. for Yarmouth. Ob. 1677. He and Mr. Evelyn were at this time appointed Commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded seamen and prisoners of war.

reports as a certain truth, that all the Dutch fleet, men-of-war and merchant East India ships, are got every one in from Bergen the 3d of this month, Sunday last; which will make us all ridiculous.

10th. (Lord's-day.) Walked home; being forced thereto by one of my watermen falling sick yesterday, and it was God's great mercy I did not go by water with them yesterday, for he fell sick on Saturday night, and it is to be feared of the plague. So I sent him away to London with his family; but another boat come to me this morning. My wife before I come out telling me the ill news that she hears that her father is very ill, and then I told her I feared of the plague, for that the house is shut up. And so she much troubled, and did desire me to send them something; and I said I would, and will do so. But before I come out there happened news to come to me by an expresse from Mr. Coventry, telling me the most happy news of my Lord Sandwich's meeting with part of the Dutch; his taking two of their East India ships, and six or seven others, and very good prizes: and that he is in search of the rest of the fleet, which he hopes to find upon the Wellbancke, with the loss only of the Hector, poor

Captn. Cuttle. To Greenwich, and there sending away Mr. Andrews, I to Captn. Cocke's, where I find my Lord Brouncker and his mistress,* and Sir J. Minnes. Where we supped; (there was also Sir W. Doyly and Mr. Evelyn,) but the receipt of this news did put us all into such an extasy of joy, that it inspired into Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of *may* and *can*, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth, (and in a thing agreeing with his own manner of genius) that I never saw any man so out-done in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth too to see himself out-done, was the crown of all our mirth. In this humour we sat till about ten at night, and so my Lord and his mistress home, and we to bed.

13th. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I took boat, and in my Lord's coach to Sir W.

* Mrs. Williams.

Hickes's,* whither by and by my Lady Batten and Sir William comes. It is a good seat, with a fair grove of trees by it, and the remains of a good garden; but so let to run to ruine, both house and every thing in and about it, so ill furnished and miserably looked after, I never did see in all my life. Not so much as a latch to his dining-room door; which saved him nothing, for the wind blowing into the room for want thereof, flung down a great bow pott that stood upon the side-table, and that fell upon some Venice glasses, and did him a crown's worth of hurt. He did give us the meanest dinner, (of beef, shoulder and umbles of venison which he takes away from the keeper of the Forest,† and a few pigeons, and all in the meanest manner,) that ever I did see, to the basest degree. I was only pleased at a very fine picture of the Queene-Mother, when she was young, by Vandike; a very good picture, and a lovely face.

14th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find a letter of the 12th from Solebay, from my Lord

* Sir William Hickes, created a baronet 1619. Ob. 1680, aged 84. His country-seat was called Ruckholts, or Rookwood, at Layton, in Essex, where he entertained King Charles II. after hunting.

† Of which he was Ranger.

Sandwich, of the fleet's meeting with about eighteen more of the Dutch fleet, and his taking of most of them; and the messenger says, they had taken three after the letter was wrote and sealed; which being twenty-one, and the fourteen took the other day, is forty-five sail; some of which are good, and others rich ships. And having taken a copy of my Lord's letter, I away toward the Change, the plague being all thereabouts. Here my news was highly welcome, and I did wonder to see the 'Change so full, I believe 200 people; but not a man or merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. And Lord! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them. I spent some thoughts upon the occurrences of this day, giving matter for as much content on one hand and melancholy on another, as any day in all my life. For the first; the finding of my money and plate, and all safe at London, and speeding in my business of money this day. The hearing of this good news to such excess, after so great a despair of my Lord's doing any thing this year; adding to that, the decrease

of 500 and more, which is the first decrease we have yet had in the sickness since it begun: and great hopes that the next week it will be greater. Then, on the other side, my finding that though the Bill in general is abated, yet the City within the walls is encreased, and likely to continue so, and is close to our house there. My meeting dead corpses of the plague, carried to be buried close to me at noon-day through the City in Fan-church-street. To see a person sick of the sores, carried close by me by Gracechurch in a hackney-coach. My finding the Angel tavern, at the lower end of Tower-hill, shut up, and more than that, the alehouse at the Tower-stairs, and more than that, that the person was then dying of the plague when I was last there, a little while ago, at night. To hear that poor Payne, my waiter, hath buried a child, and is dying himself. To hear that a labourer I sent but the other day to Dagenhams, to know how they did there, is dead of the plague; and that one of my own watermen, that carried me daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed me on Friday morning last, when I had been all night upon the water, (and I believe he did get his infection that day at Brainford) and is now dead of the plague. To hear that Captain Lam-

bert and Cuttle are killed in the taking these ships; and that Mr. Sidney Montague is sick of a desperate fever at my Lady Carteret's, at Scott's-hall. To hear that Mr. Lewes hath another daughter sick. And, lastly, that both my servants, W. Hewer, and Tom Edwards, have lost their fathers, both in St. Sepulchre's parish of the plague this week, do put me into great apprehensions of melancholy, and with good reason.

17th. To Gravesend in the Bezan Yacht, and there come to anchor for all night.

18th. By break of day we come to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above 100 ships, great and small; with the flag-ships of each squadron, distinguished by their several flags on their main, fore, or mizen masts. Among others, the Soveraigne, Charles, and Prince; in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was. And so we come on board, and we find my Lord Sandwich newly up in his night-gown very well. He received us kindly; telling us the state of the fleet, lacking provisions, having no beer at all, nor have had most of them these three weeks or month, and but few days dry provisions. And indeed he tells us that he believes no fleet was ever set to sea in so ill condition of provision, as

this was when it went out last. He did inform us in the business of Bergen, so as to let us see how the judgment of the world is not to be depended on in things they know not; it being a place just wide enough, and not so much hardly, for ships to go through to it, the yard-armes sticking in the very rocks. He do not, upon his best enquiry, find reason to except against any part of the management of the business by Teddiman; he having staid treating no longer than during the night, whiles he was fitting himself to fight, bringing his ship a-breast, and not a quarter of an hour longer, (as it is said); nor could more ships have been brought to play, as is thought. Nor could men be landed, there being 10,000 men effectively always in armes of the Danes; nor, says he, could we expect more from the Dane than he did, it being impossible to set fire on the ships but it must burn the towne. But that wherein the Dane did amisse, is that he did assist them, the Dutch, all the time, while he was treating with us, when he should have been newtrall to us both. But, however, he did demand but the treaty of us; which is, that we should not come with more than five ships. A flag of truce is said, and confessed by my Lord, that he be-

lieves it was hung out; but while they did hang it out, they did shoot at us; so that it was not seen, or perhaps they would not cease upon sight of it, while they continued actually in action against us. But the main thing my Lord wonders at, and condemns the Dane for, is, that the block-head, who is so much in debt to the Hollander, having now a treasure more by much than all his Crowne was worth, and that which would for ever have beggared the Hollander, should not take this time to break with the Hollander, and thereby pay his debt which must have been forgiven him, and have got the greatest treasure into his hands that ever was together in the world. By and by my Lord took me aside to discourse of his private matters, who was very free with me touching the ill condition of the fleet that it hath been in, and the good fortune that he hath had, and nothing else that these prizes are to be imputed to. He also talked with me about Mr. Coventry's dealing with him in sending Sir W. Pen away before him, which was not fair nor kind; but that he hath mastered and cajoled Sir W. Pen, that he hath been able to do nothing in the fleet, but been obedient to him; but withal tells me he is a man that is but of very mean parts, and a fellow not

to be lived with, so false and base he is; which I know well enough to be true, and did, as I had formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him. By and by was called a Council of Warr on board, when comes Sir W. Pen there, and Sir Christopher Mings,* Sir Edward Spragg, Sir Jos. Jordan,† Sir Thomas Teddiman, and Sir Roger Cuttance. So to our Yacht again, having seen many of my friends there, and continued till we come into Chatham river.

20th. To Lambeth. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the River; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is encreased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8297, and of them the plague 7165; which is more in the whole by above 50, than

* The son of a shoemaker, bred to the sea service, and rose to the rank of an Admiral. He was killed in the naval action with the Dutch, June 1666.

† Distinguished himself as an Admiral in the battle of Soleby, and on other occasions.

the biggest Bill yet: which is very grievous to us all.

21st. To Nonsuch, to the Exchequer, by appointment, and walked up and down the house and park; and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elme and a walnutt set one after another in order. And all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories, and good painting of Rubens' or Holben's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered, I mean the post, and quarters in the walls, with lead, and gilded. I walked also into the ruined garden.

22d. At Blackwall. Here is observable what Johnson tells us, that in digging the late Docke, they did 12 feet under ground find perfect trees overcovered with earth. Nut trees, with the branches and the very nuts upon them; some of whose nuts he showed us. Their shells black with age, and their kernell, upon opening, decayed, but their shell perfectly hard as ever. And a yew tree, (upon which the very ivy was taken up whole about it,) which upon cutting with an addes, we found to be rather harder than the living tree usually is. Among other discourse concerning long life, Sir J. Minnes saying that his great-grand-

father was alive in Edward the Vth.'s time; my Lord Sandwich did tell us how few there have been of his family since King Harry the VIIIth. that is to say, the then Chiefe Justice,* and his son and the Lord Montagu, who was father † to Sir Sidney,‡ who was his father. And yet, what is more wonderfull, he did assure us from the mouth of my Lord Montagu himself, that in King James's time, (when he had a mind to get the King to cut off the entayle of some land which was given in Harry the VIIIth.'s time to the family, with the remainder in the Crowne;) he did answer the King in showing how unlikely it was that ever it could revert to the Crown, but that it would be a present convenience to him; and did show that at that time there were 4000 persons derived from the very body of the Chiefe Justice. It seems the number of daughters in the family had been very great, and they too had most of them many children, and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This he tells as a most known and certain truth.

* Sir Edward Montagu, ob. 1556.

† I think this should be brother, as Edward first Lord Montagu and Sir Sidney Montagu were both sons of the second Sir Edward Montagu.

‡ Master of the Requests to Charles Ist.

25th. Found ourselves come to the fleet, and so aboard the Prince; and there, after a good while in discourse, we did agree a bargain of 5000*l.* for my Lord Sandwich for silk, cinnamon, nutmegs, and indigo. And I was near signing to an undertaking for the payment of the whole sum; but I did by chance escape it, having since, upon second thoughts, great cause to be glad of it, reflecting upon the craft and not good condition, it may be of, Captain Cocke.

27th. To Captain Cocke's, and (he not yet come from town) to Mr. Evelyn, where much company; and thence in his coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle by Lambeth, who was in a mighty pleasant humour; and tells us that the Dutch do stay abroad, and our fleet must go out again, or be ready to do so. Here we got several things ordered as we desired for the relief of the prisoners, and sick and wounded men. Here I saw this week's Bill of Mortality, wherein, blessed be God! there is above 1800 decrease, being the first considerable decrease we have had. Most excellent discourse with Mr. Evelyn touching all manner of learning; wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of paynting, in which he tells me the beautifull Mrs. Middleton is rare, and his own wife do brave things.

29th. Sir Martin Noell* is this day dead of the plague in London.

October 1st. Embarked on board the Bezan, and come to the fleet about two of the clock. My Lord received us mighty kindly, and did discourse to us of the Dutch fleet being abroad, eighty-five of them still.

2d. Having sailed all night, (and I do wonder how they in the dark could find the way) we got by morning to Gillingham, and thence all walked to Chatham; and there with Commissioner Pett viewed the Yard; and among other things, a team of four horses come close by us, he being with me, drawing a piece of timber that I am confident one man could easily have carried upon his back. I made the horses be taken away, and a man or two to take the timber away with their hands.

3rd. Sir W. Batten is gone this day to meet to adjourne the Parliament to Oxford. This night I hear that of our two watermen that used to carry our letters, and were well on Saturday last, one is

* He had been a Farmer of the Excise and Customs before the Restoration. The Messenger described in Hudibras, Part III. Canto II. 1407, as disturbing the Cabal with the account of the mobs burning Rumps, is said to have been intended for Sir Martin Noell.

dead, and the other dying sick of the plague; the plague, though decreasing elsewhere, yet being greater about the Tower and thereabouts.

4th. This night comes Sir George Smith to see me at the office, and tells me how the plague is decreased this week 740, for which God be praised! but that it encreases at our end of the town still.

5th. Read a book of Mr. Evelyn's translating and sending me as a present, about directions for gathering a Library; but the book is above my reach, but his epistle to my Lord Chancellor is a very fine piece. Then to Mr. Evelyn's, to discourse of our confounded business of prisoners, and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order. And here he showed me his gardens, which are for variety of evergreens, and hedge of holly, the finest things I ever saw in my life. Thence in his coach to Greenwich, and there to my office, all the way having fine discourse of trees and the nature of vegetables.

7th. Did business, though not much, at the office; because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money. Which do trouble

and perplex me to the heart; and more at noon when we were to go through them, for then above a whole hundred of them followed us; some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us. At night come two waggons from Rochester with more goods from Captain Cocke; and in housing them come two of the Custom-house, and did seize them: but I showed them my *Transire.* However, after some angry words, we locked them up, and sealed up the key, and did give it to the constable to keep till Monday, and so parted. But, Lord! to think how the poor constable come to me in the dark going home; "Sir," says he, "I have the key, and if you would have me do any service for you, send for me betimes to-morrow morning, and I will do what you would have me." Whether the fellow do this out of kindness or knavery, I cannot tell; but it is pretty to observe. Talking with him in the high way, come close by the bearers with a dead corpse of the plague; but, Lord! to see what custom is, that I am come almost to think nothing of it.

8th. To the office, where ended my business with the Captains; and I think of twenty-two ships we shall make shift to get out seven. (God help us! men being sick, or provisions lacking.)

9th. Called upon by Sir John Shaw, to whom I did give a civil answer about our prize goods, that all his dues as one of the Farmers of the Customes are paid, and showed him our *Transire;* with which he was satisfied, and parted.

11th. We met Mr. Seamour, one of the Commissioners for Prizes, and a Parliament-man, and he was mighty high, and had now seized our goods on their behalf; and he mighty imperiously would have all forfeited. But I could not but think it odd that a Parliament-man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we and my Lord Brouncker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote Hudibras, as being the book I doubt he hath read most.

12th. Good news this week that there are about 600 less dead of the plague than the last.

13th. Sir Jer. Smith* to see me in his way to Court, and a good man he is, and one that I must keep fair with.

14th. My heart and head to-night is full of the Victualling business, being overjoyed and proud at my success in my proposal about it, it being read before the King, Duke, and the Caball with complete applause and satisfaction. This Sir G.

* A distinguished Naval Officer, made a Commissioner of the Navy, vice Sir W. Pen, 1669.

Carteret and Sir W. Coventry both writ me. My own proper accounts are in great disorder, having been neglected about a month. This, and the fear of the sickness, and providing for my family, do fill my head very full, besides the infinite business of the office, and nobody here to look after it but myself.

15th. The Parliament, it seems, have voted the King 1,250,000*l.* at 50,000*l.* per month, tax for the war; and voted to assist the King against the Dutch, and all that shall adhere to them; and thanks to be given him for his care of the Duke of York, which last is a very popular vote on the Duke's behalf. The taxes of the last assessment, which should have been in good part gathered, are not yet laid, and that even in part of the City of London; and the Chimny-money comes almost to nothing, nor any thing else looked after.

16th. I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are and melancholy, so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, every body talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being

dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week: God send it! At the Tower found my Lord Duke and Duchesse at dinner; so I sat down. And much good cheer, the Lieutenant and his lady, and several officers with the Duke. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there, would make one mad; the Duke having none almost but fools about him. I have received letters from my Lord Sandwich to-day, speaking very high about the prize goods, that he would have us to fear nobody, but be very confident in what we have done, and not to confess any fault or doubt of what he hath done; for the King hath allowed it, and do now confirm it, and send orders, as he says, for nothing to be disturbed that his Lordshipp hath ordered therein as to the division of the goods to the fleet; which do comfort us. Much talk there is of the Chancellor's speech and the King's at the Parliament's meeting, which are very well liked; and that we shall certainly, by their speeches, fall out with France at this time, together with the Dutch, which will find us work.

26th. Sir Christopher Mings and I together by water to the Tower; and I find him a very witty well-spoken fellow, and mighty free to tell his pa-

rentage, being a shoemaker's son. I to the 'Change, where I hear how the French have taken two and sunk one of our merchant-men in the Straights, and carried the ships to Toulon; so that there is no expectation but we must fall out with them. The 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty, and most shops shut.

27th. The Duke of Albemarle proposed to me from Mr. Coventry, that I should be Surveyor-Generall of the Victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr. Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more; he saying that I am the fittest man in England, and that he is sure, if I will undertake, I will perform it; and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone being in no wise proportionable to my pains or deserts. This, added to the letter I had three days since from Mr. Southerne,* signifying that the Duke of York had in his master's absence opened my letters, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joy-

* Secretary to Sir W. Coventry.

ful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see that as I do take pains, so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains.

28th. The Parliament hath given the Duke of York 120,000*l.*, to be paid him after 1250,000*l.* is gathered upon the tax which they have now given the King. He tells me that the Dutch have lately launched sixteen new ships; all which is great news. The King and Court, they say, have now finally resolved to spend nothing upon clothes, but what is of the growth of England; which, if observed, will be very pleasing to the people, and very good for them.

29th. In the street did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them. I suppose the husband of one of them, which, methinks, is a sad thing.

31st. Meeting yesterday the Searchers with their rods in their hands coming from Captain Cocke's house, I did overhear them say that his Black did not die of the plague. About nine at night I come home, and anon comes Mrs. Coleman * and her husband, and she sung very finely,

* Probably the person mentioned in the following extract from *Malone's Account of the English Stage.* "In 1659 or

though her voice is decayed as to strength but mighty sweet though soft, and a pleasant jolly woman, and in mighty good humour. She sung part of the Opera, though she would not own she did get any of it without book in order to the stage. Thus we end the month. The whole number of deaths being 1388, and of them of the plague, 1031. Want of money in the Navy puts every thing out of order. Men grow mutinous; and nobody here to mind the business of the Navy but myself. I in great hopes of my place of Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which will bring me 300*l.* per annum.

November 1st. My Lord Brouncker with us to Mrs. Williams's lodgings, and Sir W. Batten, Sir Edmund Pooly, † and others; and there, it being my Lord's birth-day, had every one a green riband tied in our hats very foolishly; and methinks mighty disgracefully for my Lord to have his folly so open to all the world with this woman.

60, in imitation of foreign theatres, women were first introduced on the scene. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, wife to Mr. Edward Coleman, represented Ianthe in the first part of the Siege of Rhodes; but the little she had to say was spoken in recitative."

† M. P. for Bury St. Edmunds, and in the list of proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Suffolk.

5th. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little; in distemper, Indian incke, water colours: graveing; and, above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse, he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his Hortus Hyemalis; leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an herball. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there.

6th. Sir G. Carteret and I did walk an hour in the garden before the house, talking of my

Lord Sandwich's business; what enemies he hath, and how they have endeavoured to bespatter him: and particularly about his leaving of 30 ships of the enemy, when Pen would have gone, and my Lord called him back again: which is most false. However, he says, it was purposed by some hot-heads in the House of Commons, at the same time when they voted a present to the Duke of York, to have voted 10,000*l.* to the Prince, and half-a-crowne to my Lord of Sandwich; but nothing come of it. But, for all this, the King is most firme to my Lord, and so is my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Arlington. The Prince, in appearance, kind; the Duke of York silent, says no hurt; but admits others to say it in his hearing. Sir W. Pen, the falsest rascal that ever was in the world; and that this afternoon the Duke of Albemarle did tell him that Pen was a very cowardly rogue, and one that hath brought all these rogueish fanatick Captains into the fleet, and swears he should never go out with the fleet again. That Sir W. Coventry is most kind to Pen still; and says nothing nor do any thing openly to the prejudice of my Lord. He agrees with me, that it is impossible for the King to set out a fleet again

the next year; and that he fears all will come to ruine, there being no money in prospect but these prizes, which will bring, it may be, 20,000*l.* but that will signify nothing in the world for it.

9th. The Bill of Mortality, to all our griefs, is encreased 399 this week, and the encrease generally through the whole City and suburbs, which makes us all sad.

14th. Captain Cocke and I in his coach through Kent-streete, (a sad place through the plague, people sitting sick and with plaisters about them in the street begging.)

15th. The plague, blessed be God! is decreased 400; making the whole this week but 1300 and odd: for which the Lord be praised!

16th. To Eriffe; where after making a little visit to Madam Williams, she did give me information of W. How's having bought eight bags of precious stones taken from about the Dutch Vice-admirall's neck, of which there were eight dyamonds which cost him 4000*l.* sterling, in India, and hoped to have made 12,000*l.* here for them. And that this is told by one that sold him one of the bags, which hath nothing but rubys in it, which he had for 35*s.*; and that it will be proved he hath made 125*l.* of one stone that he bought.

This she desired, and I resolved I would give my Lord Sandwich notice of. So I on board my Lord Brouncker; and there he and Sir Edmund Pooly carried me down into the hold of the India shipp, and there did show me the greatest wealth lie in confusion that a man can see in the world. Pepper scattered through every chink, you trod upon it; and in cloves and nutmegs, I walked above the knees: whole rooms full. And silk in bales, and boxes of copper-plate, one of which I saw opened. Having seen this, which was as noble a sight as ever I saw in my life, I away on board the other ship in despair to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleet. They were Mr. Ashburnham * and Colonell Wyndham; but pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail, and had a good bedd by the shift, of Wyndham's; and so sailed all night, and got down to Quinbrough water, where all the great ships are now come, and there on board my Lord, and was soon received with great content. And after some little

* John Ashburnham, a Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I. whom he attended during the whole of the Rebellion, and afterwards filled the same post under Charles II. He was in 1661 M. P. for Sussex; and ob. 1671.

discourse, he and I on board Sir W. Pen; and there held a council of Warr about many wants of the fleet; and so followed my Lord Sandwich, who was gone a little before me on board the Royall James. And there spent an hour, my Lord playing upon the gittarr, which he now commends above all musique in the world. As an infinite secret, my Lord tells me, the factions are high between the King and the Duke, and all the Court are in an uproar with their loose amours; the Duke of York being in love desperately with Mrs. Stewart. Nay, that the Duchesse herself is fallen in love with her new Master of the Horse, one Harry Sidney,* and another, Harry Savill.† So that God knows what will be the end of it. And that the Duke is not so obsequious as he used to be, but very high of late; and would be glad to be in the head of an army as Generall; and that it is said that he do propose to go and command under the King of Spayne, in Flanders. That his amours to Mrs.

* Younger son of Robert Earl of Leicester, created Earl of Romney, 1694. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Master of the Ordnance, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in the reign of King William. Ob. 1704, unmarried.

† Henry Saville, some time one of the Grooms of the Bed chamber to the Duke of York.

Stewart are told the King. So that all is like to be nought among them.

22d. I was very glad to hear that the plague is come very low; that is, the whole under 1000, and the plague 600 and odd: and great hopes of a further decrease, because of this day's being a very exceeding hard frost, and continues freezing. This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes come out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it. Wrote by Williamson. It pleased me to have it demonstrated, that a purser without professed cheating is a professed loser, twice as much as he gets.

23d. Captn. Cuttance tells me how W. How is laid by the heels, and confined to the Royall Katharin, and his things all seized.

24th. To the 'Change, where very busy with several people, and mightily glad to see the 'Change so full, and hopes of another abatement still the next week. Visited Mr. Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him; among other things he showed me a lieger of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great grandfather, just 100 years old; which I seemed mighty fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also showed us several letters of the old Lord of

Leicester's,* in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very hand-writing of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scotts; and others, very venerable names. But, Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.

27th. With Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that my Lord hath received still worse and worse usage from some base people about the Court. But the King is very kind, and the Duke do not appear the contrary; and my Lord Chancellor swore to him "by —— I will not forsake my Lord of Sandwich." I into London, it being dark night, by a hackny coach; the first I have durst to go in many a day, and with great pain now for fear. But it being unsafe to go by water in the dark and frosty cold, and unable being weary with my morning walk to go on foot, this was my only way. Few people yet in the streets, nor shops open, here and there twenty in a place almost; though not above five or six o'clock at night.

30th. Great joy we have this week in the weekly Bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but

* There are some letters and papers answering to this description in the Pepysian Library, and amongst them an account of the Coroner's Inquest held upon the Countess of Leicester at Cumnor.

333 of the plague; so that we are encouraged to get to London soon as we can. And my father writes as great news of joy to them, that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers; and tells me that my aunt Bell hath been dead of the plague these seven weeks.

December 3d. To Captn. Cocke's, and there dined with him, and Colonell Wyndham, a worthy gentleman, whose wife was nurse to the present King, and one that while she lived governed him and every thing else, as Cocke says, as a minister of state; the old King putting mighty weight and trust upon her. They talked much of matters of State and persons, and particularly how my Lord Barkeley hath all along been a fortunate, though a passionate and but weak man as to policy; but as a kinsman brought in and promoted by my Lord of St. Alban's, and one that is the greatest vapourer in the world, this Colonell Wyndham says; and to whom only, with Jacke Ashburne* and Colonel Legg,† the King's removal to the Isle

* This should be Ashburnham.

† William Legge, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I., and father to the first Lord Dartmouth. He was M. P. for Southampton. Ob. 1672.

of Wight from Hampton Court was communicated; and (though betrayed by their knavery, or at best by their ignorance, insomuch that they have all solemnly charged one another with their failures therein, and have been at daggers-drawing publickly about it,) yet now none greater friends in the world.

4th. Upon the 'Change to-day Colvill tells me, from Oxford, that the King in person hath justified my Lord Sandwich to the highest degree; and is right in his favour to the uttermost.

6th. Up betimes, it being fast-day; and by water to the Duke of Albemarle, who come to town from Oxford last night. He is mighty brisk, and very kind to me, and asks my advice principally in every thing. He surprises me with the news that my Lord Sandwich goes Embassador to Spayne speedily; though I know not whence this arises, yet I am heartily glad of it. The King hath done my Lord Sandwich all the right imaginable, by showing him his countenance before all the world on every occasion, to remove thoughts of discontent; and he is to go Embassador, and the Duke of York is made generall of all forces by land and sea, and the Duke of Albemarle, lieutenant-generall.

8th. To White Hall, where we found Sir G. Carteret with the Duke, and also Sir G. Downing, whom I had not seen in many years before. He greeted me very kindly, and I him; though methinks I am touched, that it should be said that he was my master heretofore, as doubtless he will.

9th. My Lord Brouncker and I dined with the Duke of Albemarle. At table the Duchesse, a very ill-looked woman, complaining of her Lord's going to sea the next year, said these cursed words: "If my Lord had been a coward he had gone to sea no more: it may be then he might have been excused, and made an embassador," (meaning my Lord Sandwich). This made me mad, and I believed she perceived my countenance change, and blushed herself very much. I was in hopes others had not minded it, but my Lord Brouncker, after we were come away, took notice of the words to me with displeasure.

11th. That I may remember it the more particularly, I thought fit to insert this memorandum of Temple's discourse this night with me, which I took in writing from his mouth. Before the Harp and Crosse money was cried down, he and his fellow goldsmiths did make some particular trials what proportion that money bore to the old King's

money, and they found that generally it come to, one with another, about 25*l.* in every 100*l.* Of this money there was upon the calling of it in, 650,000*l.* at least brought into the Tower; and from thence he computes that the whole money of England must be full 16,250,000*l.* But for all this believes that there is about 30,000,000*l.*; he supposing that about the King's coming in (when he begun to observe the quantity of the new money) people begun to be fearfull of this money's being cried down, and so picked it out and set it a-going as fast as they could, to be rid of it; and he thinks 30,000,000*l.* the rather, because if there were but 16,250,000*l.* the King having 2,000,000*l.* every year, would have the whole money of the kingdom in his hands in eight years. He tells me about 350,000*l.* sterling was coined out of the French money, the proceeds of Dunkirke; so that, with what was coined of the Cross money, there is new coined about 1,000,000*l.* besides the gold, which is guessed at 500,000*l.* He tells me, that, though the King did deposit the French money in pawn all the while for the 350,000*l.* he was forced to borrow thereupon till the tools could be made for the new Minting in the present form. Yet the interest he paid for that time come to 35,000*l.* Viner having to

his knowledge 10,000*l.* for the use of 100,000*l.* of it.

13th. Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great and all our great trouble, that the plague is encreased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the late close warm weather, and if the frost continue the next week, may fall again; but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us.

15th. Met with Sir James Bunch;* "This is the time for you," says he, "that were for Oliver heretofore; you are full of employment, and we poor Cavaliers sit still and can get nothing;" which was a pretty reproach I thought, but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse.

22d. I to my Lord Brouncker's, and there spent the evening by my desire in seeing his Lordship open to pieces and make up again his watch, thereby being taught what I never knew before; and it is a thing very well worth my having seen, and am mightily pleased and satisfied with it.

25th, (Christmas-day.) To church in the morn-

* Probably James Bunce, an Alderman of London, 1660.

ing, and there saw a wedding in the church, which I have not seen many a day; and the young people so merry one with another, and strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them.

26th. Saw some fine writing work and flourishing of Mr. Hore, with one that I knew long ago, an acquaintance of Mr. Tomson's, at Westminster, that is this man's clerk. It is the story of the several Archbishops of Canterbury, engrossed in vellum, to hang up in Canterbury Cathedrall in tables, in lieu of the old ones, which are almost worn out.

30th. All the afternoon to my accounts; and there find myself, to my great joy, a great deal worth above 4000*l.* for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting 500*l.* of Cocke, for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr. Gauden's making me a present of 500*l.* more, when I paid him 800*l.* for Tangier.

31st. Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from 1300*l.* in this year to 4400*l.* I have got myself greater interest I think by my diligence, and my imploy-

ments encreased by that of Treasurer for Tangier, and Surveyor of the Victualls. It is true we have gone through great melancholy because of the great plague, and I put to great charges by it, by keeping my family long at Woolwich, and myself and another part of my family, my clerks, at my charge at Greenwich, and a maid at London; but I hope the King will give us some satisfaction for that. But now the plague is abated almost to nothing, and I intending to get to London as fast as I can. The Dutch war goes on very ill, by reason of lack of money; having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer, for goods and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act. The great evil of this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord of Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at Court; though sent (for a little pálliating it) Embassador into Spayne, which he is now fitting himself for. But the Duke of Albemarle goes with the Prince to sea this next year, and my Lord is very meanly spoken of; and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize goods is not to be excused, to suffer a company of rogues to go away

with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him. My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cosen Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such as I know very well, dead; yet, to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to publick matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

1665-6. January 3d. I to the Duke of Albemarle and back again: and at the Duke's with great joy I received the good news of the decrease of the plague this week to 70, and but 253 in all; which is the least Bill hath been known these twenty years in the City. Through the want of people in London, is it that must make it so low below the ordinary number for Bills.

5th. I with my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams by coach with four horses to London, to my Lord's house in Covent-Garden. But, Lord! what staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town. And porters every where bow to us; and such begging of beggars! And delightful it is to

see the town full of people again; and shops begin to open, though in many places seven or eight together, and more, all shut; but yet the town is full, compared with what it used to be. I mean the City end: for Covent-Garden and Westminster are yet very empty of people, no Court nor gentry being there. Reading a discourse about the River of Thames, the reason of its being choked up in several places with shelfes: which is plain is by the encroachments made upon the River, and running out of causeways into the River at every wood-wharfe; which was not heretofore when Westminster Hall and White Hall were built, and Redriffe Church, which now are sometimes overflown with water.

7th. The town talks of my Lord Craven being to come into Sir G. Carteret's place; but sure it cannot be true. But I do fear those two families, his and my Lord Sandwich's, are quite broken. And I must now stand upon my own legs.

9th. Pierce tells me how great a difference hath been between the Duke and Duchesse, he suspecting her to be naught with Mr. Sidney. But some way or other the matter is made up; but he was banished the Court, and the Duke for many days did not speak to the Duchesse at all. He tells me

that my Lord Sandwich is lost there at Court, though the King is particularly his friend. But people do speak every where slightly of him; which is a sad story to me, but I hope it may be better again. And that Sir G. Carteret is neglected, and hath great enemies at work against him. That matters must needs go bad, while all the town, and every boy in the street, openly cries, "The King cannot go away till my Lady Castlemaine be ready to come along with him;" she being lately put to bed. And that he visits her and Mrs. Stewart every morning before he eats his breakfast.

10th. The plague is encreased this week from seventy to eighty-nine. We have also great fear of our Hambrough fleet, of their meeting with the Dutch; as also have certain news, that by storms Sir Jer. Smith's fleet is scattered, and three of them come without masts back to Plymouth.

13th. Home with his Lordship to Mrs. Williams's, in Covent-Garden, to dinner, (the first time I ever was there,) and there met Captain Cocke; and pretty merry, though not perfectly so, because of the fear that there is of a great encrease again of the plague this week. And again my Lord Brouncker do tell us, that he hath it

from Sir John Baber,* who is related to my Lord Craven, that my Lord Craven do look after Sir G. Carteret's place, and do reckon himself sure of it.

16th. Mightily troubled at the news of the plague's being encreased, and was much the saddest news that the plague hath brought me from the beginning of it; because of the lateness of the year, and the fear, we may with reason have, of its continuing with us the next summer. The total being now 375, and the plague 158.

17th. I rode to Dagenhams in the dark. It was my Lord Crewe's desire that I should come, and chiefly to discourse with me of my Lord Sandwich's matters; and therein to persuade, what I had done already, that my Lord should sue out a pardon for his business of the prizes, as also for Bergen, and all he hath done this year past, before he begins his Embassy to Spain. For it is to be feared that the Parliament will fly out against him and particular men, the next Session. He is glad also that my Lord is clear of his sea-imployment, though sorry as I am, only in the manner of its bringing about.

18th. My wife and I anon and Mercer, by

* Physician in Ordinary to the King.

coach, to Pierce; where mighty merry, and sing and dance with great pleasure; and I danced, who never did in company in my life.

19th. It is a remarkable thing how infinitely naked all that end of the town, Covent-Garden, is at this day of people; while the City is almost as full again of people as ever it was.

22nd. At noon my Lord Brouncker did come, but left the keys of the chests we should open, at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, of my Lord Sandwich's, wherein How's supposed jewells are; so we could not, according to my Lord Arlington's order, see them to-day; but we parted, resolving to meet here at night: my Lord Brouncker being going with Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Hooke,* and others, to Colonel Blunt's, to consider again of the business of chariots, and to try their new invention. Which I saw here my Lord Brouncker ride in; where the coachman sits astride upon a pole over the horse, but do not touch the horse, which is a pretty odde thing; but it seems it is most easy for the horse, and, as they say, for the man also. The first meeting of Gresham College, since the plague.

* Dr. Robert Hooke, before mentioned, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and Curator of the Experiments to the Royal Society, of which he was one of the earliest and most distinguished members. Ob. 1678.

Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow physicians going out of town in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty; and a great deal more, &c. But what, among other fine discourse pleased me most, was Sir G. Ent * about Respiration; that it is not to this day known, or concluded on among physicians, nor to be done either, how the action is managed by nature, or for what use it is.

23d. Good news beyond all expectation of the decrease of the plague, being now but 79, and the whole but 272. So home with comfort to bed. A most furious storme all night and morning.

24th. My Lord and I, the weather being a little fairer, by water to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret's house, where W. How met us, and there we opened the chests, and saw the poor sorry rubys which have caused all this ado to the undoing of W. How; though I am not much sorry for it, because of his pride and ill nature. About 200 of these very small stones, and a cod of muske (which it is strange I was not able to smell) is all

* Sir George Ent, F. R. S. President of the College of Physicians.

we could find; so locked them up again, and my Lord and I, the wind being again very furious, so as we durst not go by water, walked to London quite round the bridge, no boat being able to stirre; and, Lord! what a dirty walk we had, and so strong the wind, that in the fields we many times could not carry our bodies against it, but were driven backwards. We went through Horslydowne, where I never was since a boy, that I went to enquire after my father, whom we did give over for lost coming from Holland. It was dangerous to walk the streets, the bricks and tiles falling from the houses that the whole streets were covered with them; and whole chimneys, nay, whole houses in two or three places, blowed down. But, above all, the pales of London-bridge on both sides were blown away, so that we were fain to stoop very low for fear of blowing off of the bridge. We could see no boats in the Thames afloat, but what were broke loose, and carried through the bridge, it being ebbing water. And the greatest sight of all was, among other parcels of ships driven here and there in clusters together, one was quite overset and lay with her masts all along in the water, and keel above water.

25th. It is now certain that the King of France hath publickly declared war against us, and God knows how little fit we are for it.

28th. Took coach, and to Hampton Court, where we find the King, and Duke, and Lords, all in council; so we walked up and down: there being none of the ladies come, and so much the more business I hope will be done. The Council being up, out comes the King, and I kissed his hand, and he grasped me very kindly by the hand. The Duke also, I kissed his, and he mighty kind, and Sir W. Coventry. I found my Lord Sandwich there, poor man! I see with a melancholy face, and suffers his beard to grow on his upper lip more than usual. I took him a little aside to know when I should wait on him, and where: he told me, and that it would be best to meet at his lodgings, without being seen to walk together. Which I liked very well; and, Lord! to see in what difficulty I stand, that I dare not walk with Sir W. Coventry, for fear my Lord or Sir G. Carteret should see me; nor with either of them, for fear Sir W. Coventry should. I went down into one of the Courts, and there met the King and Duke; and the Duke called me to him. And the King come to me of himself, and told me, "Mr.

Pepys," says he, " I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I assure you I am very sensible of it."

29th. Mr. Evelyn and I into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and rode together with excellent discourse till we come to Clapham. Talking of the vanity and vices of the Court, which makes it a most contemptible thing; and indeed in all his discourse I find him a most worthy person. Particularly he entertained me with discourse of an Infirmary, which he hath projected for the sick and wounded seamen against the next year, which I mightily approve of; and will endeavour to promote it, being a worthy thing, and of use, and will save money.

30th. This is the first time I have been in the church * since I left London for the plague, and it frighted me indeed to go through the church more than I thought it could have done, to see so many graves lie so high upon the churchyards where people have been buried of the plague. I was much troubled at it, and do not think to go through it again a good while.

31st. I find many about the City that live near the churchyards solicitous to have the church-

* Probably St. Olave's Hart Street.

yards covered with lime, and I think it is needfull, and ours I hope will be done. To my Lord Chancellor's new house which he is building, only to view it, hearing so much from Mr. Evelyn of it; and, indeed, it is the finest pile I ever did see in my life, and will be a glorious house. To White Hall, and to my great joy people begin to bustle up and down there, the King holding his resolution to be in town to-morrow, and hath good encouragement, blessed be God! to do so, the plague being decreased this week to 56, and the total to 227.

February 2d. My Lord Sandwich is come to town with the King and Duke.

4th. (Lord's-day;) and my wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before any body went, and now staying till all are come home; but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so as I was the less afraid for going through.

8th. Lord Brouncker with the King and Duke

upon the water to-day, to see Greenwich house, and the yacht Castle is building of.

9th. Thence to Westminster, to the Exchequer, about my Tangier business, and so to Westminster Hall, where the first day of the Terme, and the hall very full of people, and much more than was expected, considering the plague that hath been.

11th. (Lord's-day.) Up; and put on a new black cloth suit to an old coat that I make to be in mourning at Court, where they are all, for the King of Spain. I to the Park, and walked two or three turnes of the Pell Mell with the company about the King and Duke; the Duke speaking to me a good deal. There met Lord Brouncker and Mr. Coventry, and discoursed about the Navy business; and all of us much at a loss that we yet can hear nothing of Sir Jeremy Smith's fleet, that went away to the Straights the middle of December, through all the storms that we have had since that have driven back three or four of them with their masts by the board. Yesterday come out the King's Declaration of War against the French, but with such mild invitations of both them and the Dutch to come over here with promise of their protection, that every body wonders at it.

12th. Comes Mr. Cæsar, my boy's lute-master, whom I have not seen since the plague before, but he hath been in Westminster all this while very well; and tells me in the height of it, how bold people there were, to go in sport to one another's burials; and in spite too, ill people would breathe in the faces (out of their windows) of well people going by.

13th. Ill news this night that the plague is encreased this week, and in many places else about the town, and at Chatham and elsewhere.

14th. I took Mr. Hill to my Lord Chancellor's new house that is building, and went with trouble up to the top of it, and there is the noblest prospect that ever I saw in my life, Greenwich being nothing to it; and in every thing is a beautiful house, and most strongly built in every respect; and as if, as it hath, it had the Chancellor for its master. I staid a meeting of the Duke of York's, and the officers of the Navy and Ordnance. My Lord Treasurer lying in bed of the gowte.

15th. Mr. Hales * begun my wife's portrait in the posture we saw one of my Lady Peters, like

* John Hayls, or Hales, a portrait-painter remarkable for copying Vandyke well, and being a rival of Lely.

a St. Katharine. While he painted, Knipp,* and Mercer, and I, sang. We hear this night of Sir Jeremy Smith, that he and his fleet have been seen at Malaga; which is good news.

16th. To the Coffee-House, the first time I have been there, where very full, and company it seems hath been there all the plague time. The Queene comes to Hampton Court to-night.

18th. It being a brave day, I walked to White Hall, where the Queene and ladies are all come: I saw some few of them, but not the Queene, nor any of the great beauties.

19th. I am told for certain, what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest do offer to give any man 10*l.* to be paid 100*l.*, if a certain person now at Smyrna be within these two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the grand Segnor as the King of the world, in the same manner we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true Messiah. One named a friend of his that had received ten

* Of Mrs. Knipp's history, nothing seems known; except that she was a married actress belonging to the King's house, and as late as 1677, her name occurs among the performers in the "Wily False One."

pieces in gold upon this score, and says that the Jew hath disposed of 1100*l.* in this manner, which is very strange; and certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action; but what the consequences of it will be, God knows! To White Hall, and there saw the Queene at cards with many ladies, but none of our beauties were there. But glad I was to see the Queene so well, who looks prettily; and methinks hath more life than before, since it is confessed of all that she miscarried lately; Dr. Clerke telling me yesterday of it at White Hall. *

20th. Up, and to the office; where, among other businesses, Mr. Evelyn's proposition about publick Infirmarys was read and agreed on, he being there: and at noon I took him home to dinner, being desirous of keeping my acquaintance with him; and a most excellent humoured man I still find him, and mighty knowing.

21st. The Duke did bring out a book of great antiquity of some of the customs of the Navy, about 100 years since, which he did lend us to read and deliver him back again. To Trinity-

* The details in the original leave no doubt of the fact,—and exculpate the Chancellor from the charge of having selected the Queen as incapable of bearing children.

house, being invited to an Elder Brother's feast; and there met and sat by Mr. Prin, and had good discourse about the privileges of Parliament, which, he says, are few to the Commons' House, and those not examinable by them, but only by the House of Lords. Thence with my Lord Brouncker to Gresham College, the first time after the sickness that I was there, and the second time any met. And here a good lecture of Mr. Hooke's about the trade of felt-making, very pretty. And anon alone with me about the art of drawing pictures by Prince Rupert's rule and machine, and another of Dr. Wren's; * but he says nothing do like squares, or, which is the best in the world, like a darke roome.

22d. We are much troubled that the sickness in general (the town being so full of people) should be but three, and yet of the particular disease of the plague there should be ten encrease.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich's, who did lie the last night at his house in Lincoln's Inne Fields. It being fine walking in the morning, and the streets full of people again. There I staid, and the house full of people come to take leave of my Lord, who this day goes out of towne upon his embassy

* Sir Christopher Wren.

towards Spayne. And I was glad to find Sir W. Coventry to come, though I know it is only a piece of courtshipp. Comes Mrs. Knipp to see my wife, and I spent all the night talking with this baggage, and teaching her my song of "Beauty retire," which she sings and makes go most rarely, and a very fine song it seems to be. She also entertained me with repeating many of her own and others parts of the play-house, which she do most excellently; and tells me the whole practices of the play-house and players, and is in every respect most excellent company.

25th. With our coach of four horses to Windsor, and so to Cranborne, about eleven o'clock, and found my Lord* and the ladies at a sermon in the house; which being ended we to them, and all the company glad to see us, and mighty merry to dinner. Here was my Lord, and Lord Hinchingbroke, and Mr. Sidney,† Sir Charles Herbert, and Mr. Carteret, my Lady Carteret, my Lady Jemimah, and Lady Slaning.‡ After dinner to walk in the Park, my Lord and I alone; and he tells me my Lord of Suffolk, Lord Arlington,

* Sandwich.

† Sidney Montagu, Lord Sandwich's second son.

‡ Sir G. Carteret's daughter Caroline.

Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, Mr. Atturny Montagu, Sir Thomas Clifford in the House of Commons, Sir G. Carteret, and some others I cannot presently remember, are friends that I may rely on for him. He dreads the issue of this year, and fears there will be some very great revolutions before his coming back again. He doubts it is needful for him to have a pardon for his last year's actions, all which he did without commission, and at most but the King's private single word for that of Bergen; but he dares not ask it at this time, lest it should make them think that there is something more in it than yet they know; and if it should be denied, it would be of very ill consequence. He says also, if it should in Parliament be enquired into the selling of Dunkirke, (though the Chancellor was the man that would have sold it to France, saying the King of Spain had no money to give for it;) yet he will be found to have been the greatest adviser of it; which he is a little apprehensive may be called upon by this Parliament. Then I with the young ladies and gentlemen, who played on the guittar, and mighty merry, and anon to supper; and then my Lord going away to write, the young gentlemen to flinging of cushions, and other mad sports

till towards twelve at night, and then being sleepy, I and my wife in a passage-room to bed, and slept not very well because of noise.

26th. Called up about five in the morning, and my Lord up, and took leave, a little after six, very kindly of me and the whole company. So took coach and to Windsor, to the Garter, and thither sent for Dr. Childe;* who come to us, and carried us to St. George's Chapel, and there placed us among the Knights' stalls; (and pretty the observation, that no man, but a woman may sit in a Knight's place, where any brass-plates are set,) and hither come cushions to us, and a young singing-boy to bring us a copy of the anthem to be sung. And here, for our sakes, had this anthem and the great service sung extraordinary, only to entertain us. It is a noble place indeed, and a good Quire of voices. Great bowing by all the people, the poor Knights in particularly, to the Alter. After prayers, we to see the plate of the chapel, and the robes of Knights, and a man to show us the banners of the several Knights in being, which hang up over the stalls. And so to other discourse very pretty, about the Order.

* William Child, Doctor of Music, Organist of St. George's Chapel, at Windsor. Ob. 1696, aged 91.

Was shown where the late King is buried, and King Henry the Eighth, and my Lady Seymour. This being done, to the King's house, and to observe the neatness and contrivance of the house and gates: it is the most romantique castle that is in the world. But, Lord! the prospect that is in the balcone in the Queene's lodgings, and the terrace and walk, are strange things to consider, being the best in the world, sure; and so giving a great deal of money to this and that man and woman, we to our tavern, and there dined, the Doctor with us; and so took coach and away to Eton, the Doctor with me. At Eton I left my wife in the coach, and he and I to the College, and there find all mighty fine. The school good, and the custom pretty of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow, that hath his name in the window standing. To the Hall, and there find the boys' verses, "De Peste;" it being their custom to make verses at Shrove-tide. I read several, and very good they were; better, I think, than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long and longer than the whole Hall, by much. Here is a picture of Venice hung up, and a

monument made of Sir H. Wotton's giving it to the College. Thence to the porter's, in the absence of the butler, and did drink of the College beer, which is very good; and went into the back fields to see the scholars play. And so to the chapel, and there saw, among other things, Sir H. Wotton's stone with this Epitaph:

> Hic jacet primus hujus sententiæ Author:—
> Disputandi pruritus fit ecclesiæ scabies.

But unfortunately the word "Author" was wrong writ, and now so basely altered that it disgraces the stone.

March 1st. Blessed be God! a good Bill this week we have; being but 237 in all, and 42 of the plague, and of them but six in the City: though my Lord Brouncker says, that these six are most of them in new parishes where they were not the last week.

3rd. To Hales's, and there saw my wife sit; and I do like her picture mightily, and very like it will be, and a brave piece of work. But he do complain that her nose hath cost him as much work as another's face, and he hath done it finely indeed.

5th. News for certain of the King of Denmark's declaring for the Dutch, and resolution to assist

them. I find my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, and they would of their own accord, though I had never obliged them (nor my wife neither) with one visit for many of theirs, go see my house and my wife; which I showed them, and made them welcome with wine and China oranges, (now a great rarity since the war, none to be had.) My house happened to be mighty clean, and did me great honour, and they mightily pleased with it.

7th. Up betimes, and to St. James's, thinking Mr. Coventry had lain there; but he do not, but at White Hall; so thither I went to him. We walked an hour in the Matted Gallery: he of himself begun to discourse of the unhappy differences between him and my Lord of Sandwich, and from the beginning to the end did run through all passages wherein my Lord hath, at any time, gathered any dissatisfaction, and cleared himself to me most honourably; and in truth, I do believe he do as he says. I did afterwards purge myself of all partiality in the business of Sir G. Carteret, (whose story Sir W. Coventry did also run over,) that I do mind the King's interest, notwithstanding my relation to him; all which he declares he firmly believes, and assures me he hath the same

kindness and opinion of me as ever. And when I said I was jealous of myself, that having now come to such an income as I am, by his favour, I should not be found to do as much service as might deserve it; he did assure me, he thinks it not too much for me, but thinks I deserve it as much as any man in England. All this discourse did cheer my heart, and sets me right again, after a good deal of melancholy, out of fears of his disinclination to me, upon the difference with my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret; but I am satisfied thoroughly, and so went away quite another man, and by the grace of God will never lose it again by my folly in not visiting and writing to him, as I used heretofore to do. The King and Duke are to go to-morrow to Audly End, in order to the seeing and buying of it of my Lord Suffolke.

9th. Made a visit to the Duke of Albemarle, and to my great joy find him the same man to me that heretofore, which I was in great doubt of, through my negligence in not visiting of him a great while; and having now set all to rights there, I shall never suffer matters to run so far backwards again as I have done of late, with reference to my neglecting him and Sir W. Coven-

try. The truth is, I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure, knowing that this is the proper age of my life to do it; and out of my observation that most men that do thrive in the world, do forget to take pleasure during the time that they are getting their estate, but reserve that till they have got one, and then it is too late for them to enjoy it.

12th. My Uncle Talbot Pepys died the last week. All the news now is, that Sir Jeremy Smith is at Cales* with his fleet; and Mings in the Elve. The King is come this noon to town from Audly End, with the Duke of York and a fine train of gentlemen.

13th. The plague encreased this week 29 from 28, though the total fallen from 238 to 207.

14th. With my Lord Brouncker towards London, and in our way called in Covent Garden, and took in Sir John (formerly Dr.) Baber; who hath this humour that he will not enter into discourse while any stranger is in company, till he be told who he is that seems a stranger to him. This he did declare openly to me, and asked my Lord who I was. Thence to Guildhall, (in our way taking in Dr. Wilkins,) and there my Lord and I had full

* Cadiz.

and large discourse with Sir Thomas Player,* the Chamberlain of the City, (a man I have much heard of) about the credit of our tallies, which are lodged there for security to such as should lend money thereon to the use of the Navy. I had great satisfaction therein: and the truth is, I find all our matters of credit to be in an ill condition. To walk all alone in the fields behind Grayes Inne, making an end of reading over my dear "Faber fortunæ," of my Lord Bacon's.

15th. To Hales, where I met my wife and people; and do find the picture, above all things, a most pretty picture, and mighty like my wife; and I asked him his price: he says 14*l.* and the truth is, I think he do deserve it.

17th. To Hales's, and paid him 14*l.* for the picture, and 1*l.* 5*s.* for the frame. This day I began to sit, and he will make me, I think, a very fine picture. He promises it shall be as good as my wife's, and I sit to have it full of shadows, and do almost break my neck looking over my shoulder to make the posture for him to work by.

* One of the City Members in the Oxford and Westminster Parliaments. See more of him in the Notes, by Scott, to Absalom and Achitophel; in which poem he is introduced under the designation of "railing Rabsheka."

Home, having a great cold: so to bed, drinking butter-ale.

19th. After dinner we walked to the King's play-house, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage to make it wider. But God knows when they will begin to act again; but my business here was to see the inside of the stage and all the tiring-rooms and machines; and, indeed, it was a sight worthy seeing. But to see their clothes, and the various sorts, and what a mixture of things there was; here a wooden-leg, there a ruff, here a hobby-horse, there a crown, would make a man split himself to see with laughing; and particularly Lacy's* wardrobe, and Shotrell's.† But then again, to think how fine they show on the stage by candle-light, and how poor things they are to look at too near hand, is not pleasant at all. The machines are fine, and the paintings very

* John Lacy, the celebrated comedian, author of four plays. Ob. 1681.

† Robert and William Shotterel both belonged to the King's Company at the opening of their new Theatre in 1663. One of them had been Quarter-master to the troop of horse in which Hart was serving as Lieutenant under Charles the First's standard. He is called by Downs a good actor, but nothing further is recorded of his merits or career. *Note to Cibber's Apology.*

pretty. With Sir W. Warren, talking of many things belonging to us particularly, and I hope to get something considerably by him before the year be over. He gives me good advice of circumspection in my place, which I am now in great mind to improve; for I think our office stands on very ticklish terms, the Parliament likely to sit shortly and likely to be asked more money, and we able to give a very bad account of the expence of what we have done with what they did give before. Besides, the turning out the prize officers may be an example for the King's giving us up to Parliament's pleasure as easily, for we deserve it as much. Besides, Sir G. Carteret did tell me to-night how my Lord Brouncker, whose good-will I could have depended as much on as any, did himself to him take notice of the many places I have; and though I was a painful man, yet the Navy was enough for any man to go through with in his own single place there, which much troubles me, and shall yet provoke me to more and more care and diligence than ever.

21st. Sir Robert Long * told us of the plenty

* Sir Robert Long, Secretary to Charles II. during his exile, and subsequently made Auditor of the Exchequer, and

of partridges in France, where he says the King of France and his company killed with their guns, in the plain de Versailles, 300 and odd partridges at one bout. With Sir W. Warren, who tells me that at the Committee of the Lords for the prizes to-day, there passed very high words between my Lord Ashly and Sir. W. Coventry, about our business of the prize ships. And that my Lord Ashly did snuff and talk as high to him, as he used to do to any ordinary man. And that Sir W. Coventry did take it very quietly, but yet for all did speak his mind soberly and with reason, and went away, saying that he had done his duty therein.

24th. After the Committee up, I had occasion to follow the Duke into his lodgings, into a chamber where the Duchesse was sitting to have her picture drawn by Lilly, who was then at work. But I was well pleased to see that there was nothing near so much resemblance of her face in his work, which is now the second, if not the third time, as there was of my wife's at the very first time. Nor do I think at last it can be

a Privy Counsellor, and created a Baronet, 1662. Ob. unmarried, 1673.

like, the lines not being in proportion to those of her face.

26th. My Lord Brouncker and I to the Tower, to see the famous engraver, to get him to grave a seal for the office. And did see some of the finest pieces of work in embossed work, that ever I did see in my life, for fineness and smallness of the images thereon.

28th. To the Cockpitt, and dined with a great deal of company at the Duke of Albemarle's, and a bad and dirty, nasty dinner. This night, I am told, the Queene of Portugall, the mother to our Queene, is lately dead, and news brought of it hither this day.

30th. I out to Lombard-streete, and there received 2200*l.* and brought it home; and, contrary to expectation, received 35*l.* for the use of 2000*l.* of it for a quarter of a year, where it hath produced me this profit, and hath been a convenience to me as to care and security at my house, and demandable at two days' warning, as this hath been. To Hales's, and there sat till almost quite dark upon working my gowne, which I hired to be drawn in; an Indian gowne.

April 1st. To Charing Cross, to wait on Sir Philip Howard; whom I found in bed: and he

do receive me very civilly. My request was about suffering my wife's brother to go to sea, and to save his pay in the Duke's guards; which after a little difficulty he did with great respect agree to. I find him a very fine-spoken gentleman, and one of great parts, and very courteous. Meeting Dr. Allen,* the physician, he and I and another walked in the Park, a most pleasant warm day, and to the Queene's chapel; where I do not so dislike the musick. Here I saw on a post an invitation to all good Catholicks to pray for the soul of such a one departed this life. The Queene, I hear, do not yet hear of the death of her mother, she being in a course of physick, that they dare not tell it her. Up and down my Lord St. Albans his new building and market-house, looking to and again into every place building. I this afternoon made a visit to my Lady Carteret, whom I understood newly come to towne; and she took it mighty kindly; but I see her face and heart are dejected from the condition her husband's matters stand in. But I hope they will do all well enough. And I do comfort her as much as I can, for she is a noble lady.

* Probably Thomas Allen, M. D. of Caius College, Cambridge, and member of the College of Physicians. Ob. 1685.

5th. The plague is, to our great grief, encreased nine this week, though decreased a few in the total. And this encrease runs through many parishes, which makes us much fear the next year.

6th. Met by agreement with Sir Stephen Fox and Mr. Ashburnham, and discoursed the business of our Excise tallies; the former being Treasurer of the guards, and the other Cofferer of the King's household. This day great news of the Swedes declaring for us against the Dutch, and so far as that I believe it.

8th. To the Duke of York, where we all met to hear the debate between Sir Thomas Allen and Mr. Wayth; the former complaining of the latter's ill usage of him at the late pay of his ship. But a very sorry poor occasion he had for it. The Duke did determine it with great judgement, chiding both, but encouraging Wayth to continue to be a check to all captains in any thing to the King's right. And, indeed, I never did see the Duke do any thing more in order, nor with more judgement than he did pass the verdict in this business. The Court full this morning of the news of Tom Cheffins's* death, the King's closet-keeper.

* Sir E. Walker, Garter King at Arms, in 1644 gave a grant of arms *gratis*, to Thomas Chiffinch, Esq., one of the

He was well last night as ever, playing at tables in the house, and not very ill this morning at six o'clock, yet dead before seven: they think, of an imposthume in his breast. But it looks fearfully among people now-a-days, the plague, as we hear, encreasing every where again. To the Chapel, but could not get in to hear well. But I had the pleasure once in my life to see an Archbishop * (this was of York) in a pulpit. Then at a loss how to get home to dinner, having promised to carry Mrs. Hunt thither. At last got my Lord Hinchingbroke's coach, he staying at Court; and so took her up in Axe-yard, and home and dined. And good discourse of the old matters of the Protector and his family, she having a relation to them. The Protector lives in France: spends about 500*l.* per annum.

9th. By coach to Mrs. Pierce's, and with her and Knipp and Mrs. Pierce's boy and girl abroad,

Pages of His Majesty's Bedchamber, Keeper of his private Closet, and Comptroller of the Excise. His brother William, appears to have succeeded to the two first-named appointments, and became a great favourite with the King, whom he survived. There is a portrait of William Chiffinch at Gorhambury.

* Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, elected Archbishop of York, 1664. Ob. 1683.

thinking to have been merry at Chelsey; but being come almost to the house by coach near the water-side, a house alone, I think the Swan, a gentleman walking by called to us to tell us that the house was shut up of the sickness. So we with great affright turned back, being holden to the gentleman; and went away (I for my part in great disorder) for Kensington.

11th. To Hales's, where there was nothing found to be done more to my picture,* but the musique, which now pleases me mightily, it being painted true. To Gresham College, where a great deal of do and formality in choosing of the Council and Officers. I had three votes to be of the Council, who am but a stranger, nor expected any.

15th. Walked into the Park to the Queen's chapel, and there heard a good deal of their mass, and some of their musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well; and, indeed, better than the anthem I heard afterwards at White Hall, at my coming back. I staid till the King went down to receive the Sacrament, and stood in his closet with a great many others, and there saw him

* This portrait is now in the possession of Samuel Pepys Cockerel, Esq.

receive it, which I did never see the manner of before. Thence walked to Mr. Pierce's, and there dined: very good company and good discourse, they being able to tell me all the businesses of the Court; the amours and the mad doings that are there: how for certain Mrs. Stewart is become the King's mistress; and that the King hath many bastard children that are known and owned, besides the Duke of Monmouth.

18th. To Mr. Lilly's, the painter's; and there saw the heads, some finished, and all begun, of the flaggmen in the late great fight with the Duke of York against the Dutch. The Duke of York hath them done to hang in his chamber, and very finely they are done indeed. Here are the Prince's, Sir G. Askue's, Sir Thomas Teddiman's, Sir Christopher Mings, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir William Barkeley, Sir Thomas Allen, and Captain Harman's,* as also the Duke of Albemarle's; and will be my Lord Sandwich's, Sir W. Pen's, and Sir Jeremy Smith's. I was very well satisfied with this sight, and other good pictures hanging in the house.

21st. I down to walk in the garden at White Hall, it being a mighty hot and pleasant day; and

* Afterwards Sir John Harman.

there was the King, who, among others, talked to us a little; and among other pretty things, he swore merrily that he believed the ketch that Sir W. Batten bought the last year at Colchester, was of his own getting, it was so thick to its length. Another pleasant thing he said of Christopher Pett, commanding him that he will not alter his moulds of ships upon any man's advice; "as," says he, "Commissioner Taylor I fear do of his New London, that he makes it differ, in hopes of mending the Old London, built by him." "For," says he, "he finds that God hath put him into the right, and so will keep in it while he is in." "And," says the King, "I am sure it must be God put him in, for no art of his own ever could have done it;" for it seems he cannot give a good account of what he do as an artist. Thence with my Lord Brouncker in his coach to Hide Parke, the first time I have been there this year. There the King was; but I was sorry to see my Lady Castlemaine, for the mourning forceing all the ladies to go in black, with their hair plain and without spots. I find her to be a much more ordinary woman than ever I durst have thought she was; and, indeed, is not so pretty as Mrs. Stewart.

22d. To the Cockepitt, and there took my leave of the Duke of Albemarle, who is going to-morrow to sea. He seems mightily pleased with me, which I am glad of; but I do find infinitely my concernment in being careful to appear to the King and Duke to continue my care of his business, and to be found diligent as I used to be.

23rd. To White Hall, where I had the opportunity to take leave of the Prince, and again of the Duke of Albemarle; and saw them kiss the King's hands and the Duke's; and much content, indeed, there seems to be in all people at their going to sea, and they promise themselves much good from them. This morning the House of Parliament do meet, only to adjourne again till winter. The plague, I hear, encreases in the town much, and exceedingly in the country every where. Bonfires in the street, for being St. George's day, and the King's Coronation, and the day of the Prince and Duke's going to sea.

25th. I to the office, where Mr. Prin come to meet about the Chest-business; and till company come, did discourse with me a good while in the garden about the laws of England, telling me the main faults in them; and among others, their obscurity through multitude of long

statutes, which he is about to abstract out of all of a sort; and as he lives, and Parliaments come, get them put into laws, and the other statutes repealed, and then it will be a short work to know the law. Having supped upon the leads, to bed. The plague, blessed be God! is decreased sixteen this week.

29th. To Mr. Evelyn's, where I walked in his garden till he come from Church, with great pleasure reading Ridly's discourse, all my way going and coming, upon the Civill and Ecclesiastical Law. He being come home, he and I walked together in the garden with mighty pleasure, he being a very ingenious man; and the more I know him, the more I love him.

30th. I after dinner to even all my accounts of this month; and, bless God, I find myself, notwithstanding great expences of late; viz. 80*l.* now to pay for a necklace; near 40*l.* for a set of chairs and couch; near 40*l.* for my three pictures: yet I do gather, and am worth 5200*l.* My wife comes home by and by, and hath pitched upon a necklace with three rows, which is a very good one, and 80*l.* is the price. So ends this month with great layings-out. Good health and gettings,

and advanced well in the whole of my estate, for which God make me thankful!

May 1st. At noon, my cosen Thomas Pepys did come to me, to consult about the business of his being a Justice of the Peace, which he is much against; and among other reasons, tells me, as a confidant, that he is not free to exercise punishment according to the Act against Quakers and other people, for religion. Nor do he understand Latin, and so is not capable of the place as formerly, now all warrants do run in Latin. Nor he in Kent, though he be of Deptford parish, his house standing in Surry. However, I did bring him to incline towards it, if he be pressed to take it. I do think it may be some repute to me to have my kinsman in Commission there, specially, if he behave himself to content in the country.

12th. Met Sir G. Downing on White Hall bridge, and there walked half an hour, talking of the success of the late new Act; and indeed it is very much, that that hath stood really in the room of 800,000*l.** now since Christmas, being itself but 1,250,000*l.* And so I do really take it to be a very considerable thing done by him; for

* There appears to be some error in these figures.

the beginning, end, and every part of it, is to be imputed to him. The fleet is not yet gone from the Nore. The plague encreases in many places, and is 53 this week with us.

13th. Into St. Margett's* Church, where I heard a young man play the fool upon the doctrine of Purgatory.

15th. I to my Lord Crewe's, who is very lately come to town, and he talked for half an hour of the business of the warr, wherein he is very doubtful, from our want of money, that we shall fail. And I do concur with him therein. After some little discourse of ordinary matters, I away to Sir Philip Warwick's again, and he was come in, and gone out to my Lord Treasurer's; whither I followed him, and there my business was, to be told that my Lord Treasurer hath got 10,000*l.* for us in the Navy, to answer our great necessities, which I did thank him for; but the sum is not considerable. The five brothers Houblons† came,

* St. Margaret's.

† Two of these brothers, Sir James and Sir John Houblon, Knts. and Aldermen, rose to great wealth: the former represented the City of London, and the latter became Lord Mayor in 1695.

The following epitaph, in memory of their father, who was

and Mr. Hill, to my house; and a very good supper we had, and good discourse with great pleasure. My new plate sets off my cupboard very nobly. Here they were till about eleven at night: and a fine sight it is to see these five brothers thus loving one to another, and all industrious merchants.

19th. Mr. Deane and I did discourse about his ship Rupert, built by him there, which succeeds so well as he hath got great honour by it, and I some by recommending him; the King, Duke, and every body, saying it is the best ship that was ever built. And then he fell to explain to me his manner of casting the draught of water which a ship will draw beforehand: which is a secret the King and all admire in him; and he is the first that hath come to any certainty before-

interred in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, is here inserted, as having been written by Mr. Pepys:—

Jacobus Houblon,
Londin. Petri filius,
Ob fidem Flandria exulantis:
Ex C. Nepotibus habuit LXX superstites:
Filios V. videns mercatores florentissimos;
Ipse Londinensis Bursæ Pater.
Piissime obiit Nonagenarius,
A.D. MDCLXXXII.

hand, of foretelling the draught of water of a ship before she be launched.

20th. I discoursed awhile with Mr. Yeabsly, whom I met and took up in my coach with me, and who hath this day presented my Lord Ashly with 100*l.* to bespeak his friendship to him in his accounts now before us; and my Lord hath received, and so I believe is as bad, as to bribes, as what the world says of him.

21st. I away in some haste to my Lord Ashly, where it is stupendous to see how favourably, and yet closely, my Lord Ashly carries himself to Mr. Yeabsly, in his business, so as I think we shall do his business for him in very good manner. But it is a most extraordinary thing to observe, and that which I would not but have had the observation of for a great deal of money.

23rd. Towards White Hall, calling in my way on my Lord Bellasses,* where I come to his bedside, and he did give me a full and long account

* John Lord Bellassis, second son of Thomas Viscount Falconberg, an officer of distinction on the King's side, during the Civil War. He was afterwards Governor of Tangier, and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Being a Catholic, the Test Act deprived him of all his appointments in 1672; but James II., in 1684, made him first Commissioner of the Treasury. Ob. 1689.

of his matters, how he kept them at Tangier. Declares himself fully satisfied with my care: seems cunningly to argue for encreasing the number of men there. Told me the whole story of his gains by the Turky prizes, which he owns he hath got about 5000*l.* by. Promised me the same profits Povy was to have had; and in fine, I find him a pretty subtle man; and so I left him. Staid at Sir G. Carteret's chamber till the Council rose, and then he and I, by agreement this morning, went forth in his coach by Tiburne, to the park; discoursing of the state of the Navy as to money, and the state of the Kingdom too, how ill able to raise more: and of our office, as to the condition of the officers; he giving me caution as to myself, that there are those that are my enemies as well as his, and by name my Lord Brouncker who hath said some odd speeches against me. So that he advises me to stand on my guard; which I shall do, and unless my too-much addiction to pleasure undo me, will be acute enough for any of them.

25th. A gentleman arrived here this day, Mr. Brown of St. Maloes, among other things tells me the meaning of the setting out of dogs every night out of the town walls, which are said to

secure the city; but it is not so, but only to secure the anchors, cables, and ships that lie dry, which might otherwise in the night be liable to be robbed. And these dogs are set out every night, and called together in, every morning by a man with a horne, and they go in very orderly.

29th. Home this evening, but with great trouble in the streets by bonfires, it being the King's birth-day and day of Restoration; but Lord! to see the difference how many there were on the other side, and so few ours, the City side of the Temple, would make one wonder the difference between the temper of one sort of people and the other: and the difference among all between what they do now, and what it was the night when Monk come into the City. Such a night as that I never think to see again, nor think it can be.

30th. I find the Duke gone out with the King to-day on hunting.

31st. A public Fast-day appointed to pray for the good success of the fleet. But it is a pretty thing to consider how little a matter they make of this keeping of a Fast, that it was not so much as declared time enough to be read in the churches,

the last Sunday; but ordered by proclamation since: I suppose upon some sudden news of the Dutch being come out. As to public business; by late tidings of the French fleet being come to Rochell, (how true, though, I know not) our fleet is divided; Prince Rupert being gone with about thirty ships to the Westward as is conceived to meet the French, to hinder their coming to join with the Dutch. My Lord Duke of Albemarle lies in the Downes with the rest, and intends presently to sail to the Gunfleete.

June 2d. Up, and to the office, where certain news is brought us of a letter come to the King this morning from the Duke of Albemarle, dated yesterday at eleven o'clock, as they were sailing to the Gunfleete, that they were in sight of the Dutch fleet, and were fitting themselves to fight them; so that they are ere this certainly engaged: besides, several do averr they heard the guns yesterday in the afternoon. This put us at the Board into a tosse. Presently come orders for our sending away to the fleet a recruite of 200 soldiers. So I rose from the table, and to the Victualling-office, and thence upon the River among several vessels, to consider of the sending them away; and lastly, down to Greenwich, and there appointed

two yachts to be ready for them; and did order the soldiers to march to Blackewall. Having set all things in order against the next flood, I went on shore with Captain Erwin at Greenwich, and into the parke, and there we could hear the guns from the fleete most plainly. We walked to the water-side, and there seeing the King and Duke come down in their barge to Greenwich-house, I to them, and did give them an account what I was doing. They went up to the park to hear the guns of the fleet go off. All our hopes now are that Prince Rupert with his fleet is coming back and will be with the fleet this even: a message being sent to him for that purpose on Wednesday last; and a return is come from him this morning, that he did intend to sail from St. Ellen's point about four in the afternoon yesterday; which gives us great hopes, the wind being very fair, that he is with them this even, and the fresh going off of the guns makes us believe the same. Down to Blackewall, and there saw the soldiers (who were by this time gotten most of them drunk) shipped off. But, Lord! to see how the poor fellows kissed their wives and sweethearts in that simple manner at their going off, and shouted, and let off their guns, was strange sport. In the evening come up

the River the Katharine yacht, Captain Fazeby, who hath brought over my Lord of Alesbury * and Sir Thomas Liddall † (with a very pretty daughter, and in a pretty travelling-dress) from Flanders, who saw the Dutch fleet on Thursday, and ran from them; but from that hour to this hath not heard one gun, nor any news of any fight. Having put the soldiers on board, I home.

3rd. (Lord's-day; Whit-sunday.) Up; and by water to White Hall, and there met with Mr. Coventry, who tells me the only news from the fleet is brought by Captain Elliott, of the Portland, which, by being run on board by the Guernsey, was disabled from staying abroad; so is come in to Albrough. That he saw one of the Dutch great ships blown up, and three on fire. That they begun to fight on Friday; and at his coming into port, could make another ship of the King's coming in, which he judged to be the Rupert: that he knows of no other hurt to our ships. With this good news I home by water again. The Exchange

* Robert Bruce, created Earl of Aylesbury, 1663. Ob. 1685.

† Of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, succeeded his grandfather, the first Baronet, 1650. He had three daughters. Ob. 1697.

as full of people, and hath been all this noon as of any other day, only for news. To White Hall, and there met with this bad news farther, that the Prince come to Dover but at ten o'clock last night, and there heard nothing of a fight; so that we are defeated of all our hopes of his help to the fleet. It is also reported by some Victuallers that the Duke of Albemarle and Holmes * their flags were shot down, and both fain to come to anchor to renew their rigging and sails. A letter is also come this afternoon, from Harman in the Henery; which states, that she was taken by Elliott for the Rupert; that being fallen into the body of the Dutch fleet, he made his way through them, was set on by three fire-ships one after another, got two of them off, and disabled the third; was set on fire himself; upon which many of his men leapt into the sea and perished; among others, the parson first. Have lost above 100 men, and a good many women, (God knows what is become of Balty †) and at last quenched his own fire and got to Albrough; being, as all say, the greatest hazard

* Sir Robert Holmes.

† Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother, employed in the office for sick and hurt at Deal afterwards, and in 1686 Commissioner at Woolwich and Deptford.

that ever any ship escaped, and so bravely managed by him. The mast of the third fire-ship fell into their ship on fire, and hurt Harman's leg, which makes him lame now, but not dangerous. I to Sir G. Carteret, who told me there hath been great bad management in all this; that the King's orders that went on Friday for calling back the Prince, were sent but by the ordinary post on Wednesday; and come to the Prince his hands but on Friday; and then, instead of sailing presently, he stays till four in the evening. And that which is worst of all, the Hampshire, laden with merchants' money, come from the Straights, set out with or but just before the fleet, and was in the Downes by five in the clock yesterday morning; and the Prince with his fleet come to Dover but at ten of the clock at night. This is hard to answer, if it be true. This puts great astonishment into the King, and Duke, and Court, every body being out of countenance. Home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the Prince in not making more haste after his instructions did come, and of our managements here in not giving it sooner and with more care and oftener.

4th. To White Hall, where, when we come,

we find the Duke at St. James's, whither he is lately gone to lodge. So walking through the Park we saw hundreds of people listening at the Gravell-pits, and to and again in the Park to hear the guns. I saw a letter, dated last night, from Strowd, Governor of Dover Castle, which says that the Prince come thither the night before with his fleet; but that for the guns which we writ that we heard, it is only a mistake for thunder; and so far as to yesterday it is a miraculous thing that we all Friday, and Saturday and yesterday, did hear every where most plainly the guns go off, and yet at Deale and Dover to last night they did not hear one word of a fight, nor think they heard one gun. This, added to what I have set down before the other day about the Katharine, makes room for a great dispute in philosophy, how we should hear it and they not, the same wind that brought it to us being the same that should bring it to them: but so it is. Major Halsey, however, (he was sent down on purpose to hear news) did bring news this morning that he did see the Prince and his fleet at nine of the clock yesterday morning, four or five leagues to sea behind the Goodwin, so that by the hearing of the guns this morning, we conclude he is come to

the fleet. After wayting upon the Duke with Sir W. Pen, (who was commanded to go to-night by water down to Harwich, to dispatch away all the ships he can,) I home; where no sooner come, but news is brought me of a couple of men come to speak with me from the fleet; so I down, and who should it be but Mr. Daniel, all muffled up, and his face as black as the chimney, and covered with dirt, pitch, and tar, and powder, and muffled with dirty clouts, and his right eye stopped with okum. He is come last night at five o'clock from the fleet, with a comrade of his that hath endangered another eye. They were set on shore at Harwich this morning, and at two o'clock, in a catch with about twenty more wounded men from the Royall Charles. They being able to ride, took post about three this morning, and were here between eleven and twelve. I went presently into the coach with them, and carried them to Somerset-House-stairs, and there took water (all the world gazing upon us, and concluding it to be news from the fleet, and every body's face appeared expecting of news,) to the Privy-stairs, and left them at Mr. Coventry's lodging (he, though, not being there); and so I into the Park to the King, and told him my Lord Generall was well

the last night at five o'clock, and the Prince come with his fleet and joyned with his about seven. The King was mightily pleased with this news, and so took me by the hand and talked a little of it, giving him the best account I could; and then he bid me to fetch the two seamen to him, he walking into the house. So I went and fetched the seamen into the vane room to him, and there he heard the whole account.

THE FIGHT.

How we found the Dutch fleet at anchor on Friday half seas over, between Dunkirke and Ostend, and made them let slip their anchors. They about ninety, and we less than sixty. We fought them, and put them to the run, till they met with about sixteen sail of fresh ships, and so bore up again. The fight continued till night, and then again the next morning from five till seven at night. And so, too, yesterday morning they begun again, and continued till about four o'clock, they chasing us for the most part of Saturday, and yesterday we flying from them. The Duke himself, and then those people who were put into the catch, by and by spied the Prince's fleet coming, upon which De Ruyter called a little council, (being in chase at this time of us,) and

thereupon their fleet divided into two squadrons; forty in one, and about thirty in the other (the fleet being at first about ninety, but by one accident or other, supposed to be lessened to about seventy); the bigger to follow the Duke, the less to meet the Prince. But the Prince come up with the Generall's fleet, and the Dutch come together again and bore towards their own coast, and we with them; and now what the consequence of this day will be, we know not. The Duke was forced to come to anchor on Friday, having lost his sails and rigging. No particular person spoken of to be hurt but Sir W. Clerke, who hath lost his leg, and bore it bravely. The Duke himself had a little hurt in his thigh, but signified little. The King did pull out of his pocket about twenty pieces in gold, and did give it Daniel for himself and his companion; and so parted, mightily pleased with the account he did give him of the fight, and the success it ended with, of the Prince's coming, though it seems the Duke did give way again and again. The King did give order for care to be had of Mr. Daniel and his companion; and so we parted from him, and then met the Duke of York, and gave him the same account: and so broke up, and I left them going to the surgeon's. To the Crown, behind the

'Change, and there supped at the club with my Lord Brouncker, Sir G. Ent, and others of Gresham College; and all our discourse is of this fight at sea, and all are doubtful of the success, and conclude all had been lost if the Prince had not come in, they having chased us the greatest part of Saturday and Sunday. Thence with my Lord Brouncker and Creed by coach to White Hall, where fresh letters are come from Harwich, where the Gloucester, Captain Clerke, is come in, and says that on Sunday night upon coming in of the Prince, the Duke did fly; but all this day they have been fighting; therefore they did face again to be sure. Captain Bacon of the Bristoll is killed. They cry up Jenings of the Ruby, and Saunders of the Sweepstakes. They condemn mightily Sir Thomas Teddiman for a coward, but with what reason time must show.

5th. At noon, though I should have dined with my Lord Mayor and Aldermen at an entertainment of Commissioner Taylor's, yet it being a time of expectation of the success of the fleet, I did not go. No manner of news this day, but of the Rainbow's being put in from the fleet, maimed as the other ships are.

6th. By and by walking a little further, Sir

Philip Frowde* did meet the Duke with an express to Sir W. Coventry (who was by) from Captain Taylor, the Storekeeper at Harwich, being the narration of Captain Hayward of the Dunkirke; who gives a very serious account, how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day till seven at night, and then the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight, and never looked back again. That Sir Christopher Mings is wounded in the leg; that the Generall is well. That it is conceived reasonably, that of all the Dutch fleet, which, with what recruits they had, come to one hundred sail, there is not above fifty got home; and of them, few if any of their flags. And that little Captain Bell, in one of the fire-ships, did at the end of the day fire a ship of 70 guns. We were also so overtaken with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel, and there all the Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears in this good news. Away go I by coach to the new Exchange, and there did spread this good news a little, though I find it had broke out before. And so home to our own church, it being the common Fast-day, and it was just before

* Secretary to the Duchess of York.

sermon; but, Lord! how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford to tell me the news, (which I had brought) being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and passed from pew to pew. But that which pleased me as much as the news, was, to have the fair Mrs. Middleton at our church, who indeed is a very beautiful lady. Idled away the whole night till twelve at night at the bonfire in the streets. Some of the people thereabouts going about with musquets, and did give me two or three vollies of their musquets, I giving them a crown to drink; and so home. Mightily pleased with this happy day's news, and the more, because confirmed by Sir Daniel Harvy,* who was in the whole fight with the Generall, and tells me that there appear but thirty-six in all of the Dutch fleet left at the end of the voyage when they run home. The joy of the City was this night exceeding great.

7th. Up betimes, and to my office about business, (Sir W. Coventry having sent me word that

* Ranger of Richmond Park.

he is gone down to the fleet to see how matters stand, and to be back again speedily); and with the same expectation of congratulating ourselves with the victory that I had yesterday. But my Lord Brouncker and Sir T. H.* that come from Court, tell me the contrary news, which astonishes me: that is to say, that we are beaten, lost many ships and good commanders; have not taken one ship of the enemy's; and so can only report ourselves a victory; nor is it certain that we were left masters of the field. But, above all, that the Prince run on shore upon the Galloper, and there stuck; was endeavoured to be fetched off by the Dutch, but could not; and so they burned her; and Sir G. Ascue is taken prisoner, and carried into Holland. This news do much trouble me, and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it, and the pride and presumption that brought us to it. At noon to the 'Change, and there find the discourse of town, and their countenances much changed; but yet not very plain. By and by comes Mr. Wayth to me; and discoursing of our ill success, he tells me plainly from Captain Page's own mouth, (who hath lost his arm in the fight,) that the Dutch did pursue

* Probably Sir Thomas Harvey.

us two hours before they left us, and then they suffered us to go on homewards, and they retreated towards their coast: which is very sad news. The Duke much damped in his discourse, touching the late fight, and all the Court talk sadly of it. The Duke did give me several letters he had received from the fleet, and Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen, who are gone down thither, for me to pick out some works to be done for the setting out the fleet again; and so I took them home with me, and was drawing out an abstract of them till midnight. And as to news, I do find great reason to think that we are beaten in every respect, and that we are the losers. The Prince upon the Galloper, where both the Royall Charles and Royall Katharine had come twice aground, but got off. The Essex carried into Holland; the Swiftsure missing (Sir W. Barkeley) ever since the beginning of the fight. Captains Bacon, Tearne, Wood, Mootham, Whitty, and Coppin, slayne. The Duke of Albemarle writes, that he never fought with worse officers in his life, not above twenty of them behaving themselves like men. Sir William Clerke lost his leg; and in two days died. The Loyall George, Seven Oakes, and Swiftsure, are still missing, having never, as

the Generall writes himself, engaged with them. It was as great an alteration to find myself required to write a sad letter instead of a triumphant one, to my Lady Sandwich this night, as ever on any occasion I had in my life.

8th. To my very great joy I find Balty come home without any hurt, after the utmost imaginable danger he hath gone through in the Henery, being upon the quarter-deck with Harman all the time; and for which service, Harman I heard this day commended most seriously and most eminently by the Duke of York. As also the Duke did do most utmost right to Sir Thomas Teddiman, of whom a scandal was raised, but without cause, he having behaved himself most eminently brave all the whole fight, and to extraordinary great service and purpose, having given Trump himself such a broadside as was hardly ever given to any ship. Mings is shot through the face, and into the shoulder, where the bullet is lodged. Young Holmes is also ill-wounded, and Atber in the Rupert. Balty tells me the case of the Henery; and it was, indeed, most extraordinary sad and desperate. After dinner Balty and I to my office, and there talked a great deal of this fight; and I am mightily pleased in him, and have great content in, and hopes of his doing

well. Thence out to White Hall to a Committee for Tangier, but it met not. But, Lord! to see how melancholy the Court is, under the thoughts of this last overthrow, (for so it is,) instead of a victory, so much and so unreasonably expected. We hear the Swiftsure, Sir W. Barkeley, is come in safe to the Nowre, after her being absent ever since the beginning of the fight, wherein she did not appear at all from beginning to end.

9th. The Court is divided about the Swiftsure and the Essex's being safe. And wagers and odds laid on both sides. Sir W. Coventry is come to town; so I to his chamber. But I do not hear that he is at all pleased or satisfied with the late fight; but he tells me more news of our suffering, by the death of one or two captains more than I knew before. But he do give over the thoughts of the safety of the Swiftsure or Essex.

10th. I met with Pierce the surgeon, who is lately come from the fleet, and tells me that all the commanders, officers, and even the common seamen do condemn every part of the late conduct of the Duke of Albemarle: both in his fighting at all, running among them in his retreat, and running the ships on ground; so as nothing can be worse spoken of. That Holmes, Spragg, and Smith do

all the business, and the old and wiser commanders nothing. So as Sir Thomas Teddiman (whom the King and all the world speak well of) is mightily discontented, as being wholly slighted. He says we lost more after the Prince came, than before too. The Prince was so maimed, as to be forced to be towed home. He says all the fleet confess their being chased home by the Dutch; and yet the body of the Dutch that did it, was not above forty sail at most. And yet this put us into the fright, as to bring all our ships on ground. He says, however, that the Duke of Albemarle is as high almost as ever, and pleases himself to think that he hath given the Dutch their bellies full, without sense of what he hath lost us; and talks how he knows now the way to beat them. But he says, that even Smith himself, one of his creatures, did himself condemn the late conduct from the beginning to the end. He tells me further, how the Duke of York is wholly given up to his new mistress, my Lady Denham,* going at noonday with all his gentlemen with him to visit her in Scotland Yard; she declaring she will not be his

* Miss Brookes, a relative of the Earl of Bristol, married to Sir J. Denham, frequently mentioned in the "Mémoires de Grammont."

mistress, as Mrs. Price, to go up and down the Privy-stairs, but will be owned publicly; and so she is. Mr. Brouncker,* it seems, was the pimp to bring it about, and my Lady Castlemaine, who designs thereby to fortify herself by the Duke; there being a falling-out the other day between the King and her: on this occasion, the Queene, in ordinary talk before the ladies in her drawing-room, did say to my Lady Castlemaine that she feared the King did take cold, by staying so late abroad at her house. She answered before them all, that he did not stay so late abroad with her, for he went betimes thence, (though he do not before one, two, or three in the morning,) but must stay somewhere else. The King then coming in and overhearing, did whisper in the eare aside, and told her she was a bold impertinent woman, and bid her to be gone out of the Court, and not come again till he sent for her; which she did presently, and went to a lodging in the Pell Mell, and kept there two or three days, and then sent to the King to know whether she might send for her things away out of her house. The King sent to her, she

* Henry Brouncker, younger brother to Lord Brouncker, whom he succeeded in his title. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and a famous chess-player.

must first come and view them: and so she come, and the King went to her, and all friends again. He tells me she did, in her anger, say she would be even with the King, and print his letters to her. So putting all together, we are and are like to be in a sad condition. We are endeavouring to raise money by borrowing it of the City; but I do not think the City will lend a farthing. Sir G. Carteret and I walked an hour in the church-yard, under Henry the Seventh's Chapel, he being lately come from the fleet; and tells me, as I hear from every body else, that the management in the late fight was bad from top to bottom. That several said that this would not have been if my Lord Sandwich had had the ordering of it. Nay, he tells me that certainly had my Lord Sandwich had the misfortune to have done as they have done, the King could not have saved him. There is, too, nothing but discontent among the officers; and all the old experienced men are slighted. He tells me to my question, (but as a great secret,) that the dividing of the fleet did proceed first from a proposition from the fleet, though agreed to hence. But he confesses it arose from want of due intelligence. He do, however, call the fleet's retreat on Sunday a very honourable one, and that the Duke

of Albemarle did do well in it, and would have been well if he had done it sooner, rather than venture the loss of the fleet and crown, as he must have done if the Prince had not come. He was surprised when I told him I heard that the King did intend to borrow some money of the City, and would know who had spoke of it to me; I told him Sir Ellis Layton this afternoon. He says it is a dangerous discourse, for that the City certainly will not be invited to do it, and then for the King to ask it and be denied, will be the beginning of our sorrow. He seems to fear we shall all fall to pieces among ourselves. This evening we hear that Sir Christopher Mings is dead of his late wounds; and Sir W. Coventry did commend him to me in a most extraordinary manner. But this day, after three days' trial in vain, and the hazard of the spoiling of the ship in lying till next spring, besides the disgrace of it, news is brought that the Loyall London is launched at Deptford.

11th. I with my Lady Pen and her daughter to see Harman; whom we find lame in bed. His bones of his ancle are broke, but he hopes to do well soon; and a fine person by his discourse he seems to be: and he did plainly tell me that at the Council of War before the fight, it was against

his reason to begin the fight then, and the reasons of most sober men there, the wind being such, and we to windward, that they could not use their lower tier of guns. Late comes Sir Jo. Bankes to see me, who tells me that coming up from Rochester he overtook three or four hundred seamen, and he believes every day they come flocking from the fleet in like numbers; which is a sad neglect there, when it will be impossible to get others, and we have little reason to think these will return presently again. Walking in the galleries at White Hall, I find the Ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with perriwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odde sight, and a sight did not please me. It was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus.

13th. Sir H. C. Cholmly* tells me there are great jarrs between the Duke of York and the

* Sir Hugh Cholmely of Whitby, Yorkshire, Bart., was employed in constructing the Mole at Tangier, and resided there some years. Ob. 1688.

Duke of Albemarle, about the latter's turning out one or two of the commanders put in by the Duke of York. Among others, Captain Du Tell, a Frenchman, put in by the Duke of York, and mightily defended by him; and is therein led by Monsieur Blancford, that it seems hath the same command over the Duke of York as Sir W. Coventry hath; which raises ill blood between them. And I do in several little things observe that Sir W. Coventry hath of late, by the by, reflected on the Duke of Albemarle and his captains, particularly in that of old Teddiman, who did deserve to be turned out this fight, and was so; but I heard Sir W. Coventry say that the Duke of Albemarle put in one as bad as he is in his room, and one that did as little. Invited to Sir Christopher Mings's funeral, but find them gone to church. However I into the church (which is a fair large church, and a great chapel) and there heard the service, and staid till they buried him, and then out. And there met with Sir W. Coventry (who was there out of great generosity, and no person of quality there but he) and went with him into his coach, and being in it with him there happened this extraordinary case,—one of the most romantique that ever I heard of in my life, and

could not have believed, but that I did see it; which was this :—About a dozen able, lusty, proper men come to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest begun and said to Sir W. Coventry, "We are here a dozen of us, that have long known and loved, and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Mings, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives; if you will please to get His Royal Highness to give us a fireship among us all, here are a dozen of us, out of all which choose you one to be commander, and the rest of us, whoever he is, will serve him; and, if possible, do that which shall show our memory of our dead commander, and our revenge." Sir W. Coventry was herewith much moved, (as well as I, who could hardly abstain from weeping,) and took their names, and so parted; telling me that he would move his Royal Highness as in a thing very extraordinary. The truth is, Sir Christopher Mings was a very stout man, and a man of great parts, and most excellent tongue among ordinary men; and as Sir W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful man at such a pinch of

time as this. He was come into great renowne here at home, and more abroad in the West Indys. He had brought his family into a way of being great; but dying at this time, his memory and name (his father being always and at this day a shoemaker, and his mother a hoyman's daughter; of which he was used frequently to boast) will be quite forgot in a few months as if he had never been, nor any of his name be the better by it; he having not had time to will any estate, but is dead poor rather than rich. So we left the church and crowd.

14th. With my wife and father to Hales's, and there looked only on my father's picture, (which is mighty like); and so away to White Hall to a committee for Tangier. Where the Duke of York was, and Sir W. Coventry, and a very full committee; and instead of having a very prejudiced meeting, they did, though inclined against Yeabsly, yield to the greatest part of his account, so as to allow of his demands to the value of 7000*l.* and more, and only give time for him to make good his pretence to the rest; which was mighty joy to me: and so we rose up. But I must observe the force of money, which did make my Lord Ashly to argue and behave himself in the business

with the greatest friendship, and yet with all the discretion imaginable; and it will be a business of admonition and instruction to me concerning him (and other men, too, for aught I know) as long as I live.

16th. The King, Duke of York, and Sir W. Coventry are gone down to the fleet. It seems the Dutch do mightily insult of their victory, and they have great reason. Sir William Barkeley was killed before his ship taken; and there he lies dead in a sugar-chest, for every body to see, with his flag standing up by him. And Sir George Ascue is carried up and down the Hague for people to see.

18th. Sir W. Coventry is returned this night from the fleet; he being the activest man in the world, and we all (myself particularly) more afraid of him than of the King or his service, for aught I see; God forgive us! This day the great news is come of the French, their taking the island of St. Christopher's from us; and it is to be feared they have done the like of all those islands thereabouts: this makes me mad.

19th. I to Sir G. Carteret's by appointment; where I perceive by him the King is going to borrow some money of the City; but I fear it will do

no good, but hurt. He tells me how the Generall is displeased, and there have been some high words between the Generall and Sir W. Coventry. And it may be so; for I do not find Sir W. Coventry so highly commending the Duke as he used to be, but letting fall now and then some little jerkes: as this day, speaking of news from Holland, he says, "I find their victory begins to shrinke there as well as ours here." Here I met with Captain Cocke, and he tells me that the first thing the Prince said to the King upon his coming was, complaining of the Commissioners of the Navy; that they could have been abroad in three or four days but for us; that we do not take care of them: which I am troubled at, and do fear may in violence break out upon this office some time or other; for we shall not be able to carry on the business.

21st. Up, and at the office all the morning; where by several circumstances I find Sir W. Coventry and the Duke of Albemarle do not agree as they used to do; Sir W. Coventry commending Aylett, (in some reproach to the Duke,) whom the Duke hath put out for want of courage; and found fault with Steward, whom the Duke keeps in, though as much in fault as any commander in

the fleet. Sir George Smith tells me that this day my Lord Chancellor and some of the Court have been with the City, and that the City have voted to lend the King 100,000*l.*; which, if soon paid, (as he says he believes it will,) will be a greater service than I did ever expect at this time from the City.

23d. Reading Pompey the Great, (a play translated from the French by several noble persons; among others, my Lord Buckhurst,) that to me is but a mean play, and the words and sense not very extraordinary. From Deptford I walked to Redriffe, and in my way was overtaken by Bagwell, lately come from sea in the Providence, who did give me an account of several particulars in the late fight, and how his ship was deserted basely by the York, Captain Swanly, commander.

24th. In the gallery among others met with Major Halsey, a great creature of the Duke of Albemarle's; who tells me that the Duke by name hath said that he expected to have the work here up in the River done, having left Sir W. Batten and Mr. Phipps there. He says that the Duke of Albemarle do say that this is a victory we have had, having, as he was sure,

killed them 8000 men, and sunk about fourteen of their ships; but nothing like this appears true. He lays much of the little success we have had, however, upon the fleet's being divided by order from above, and the want of spirit in the commanders; and that he was commanded by order to go out of the Downes to the Gun-fleete, and in the way meeting the Dutch fleet, what should he do? should he not fight them? especially having beat them heretofore at as great disadvantage. He tells me further, that having been downe with the Duke of Albemarle, he finds that Holmes and Spragge do govern most business of the Navy; and by others I understand that Sir Thomas Allen is offended thereat; that he is not so much advised with as he ought to be. He tells me also, as he says of his own knowledge, that several people before the Duke went out did offer to supply the King with 100,000*l.* provided he would be treasurer of it, to see it laid out for the Navy; which he refused, and so it died. But I believe none of this. This day I saw my Lady Falmouth,* with

* Elizabeth, daughter of Hervey Bagot, Esq., and widow of Charles Barkeley, Earl of Falmouth, married secondly, Charles first Duke of Dorset. She had been Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York.

whom I remember now I have dined at my Lord Barkeley's heretofore, a pretty woman: she was now in her second or third mourning, and pretty pleasant in her looks. By and by the Council rises, and Sir W. Coventry come out; and he and I went aside, and discoursed of much business of the Navy; and afterwards took his coach, and to Hide-Parke, he and I alone: there we had much talk. First, he stated a discourse of a talk he hears about the town, which, says he, is a very bad one, and fit to be suppressed, if we knew how: which is, the comparing of the success of the last year with that of this; saying that that was good, and that bad. I was as sparing in speaking as I could, being jealous of him and myself also, but wished it could be stopped; but said I doubted it could not otherwise than by the fleet's being abroad again, and so finding other work for men's minds and discourse. Then to discourse of himself, saying, that he heard that he was under the lash of people's discourse about the Prince's not having notice of the Dutch being out, and for him to come back again, nor the Duke of Albemarle notice that the Prince was sent for back again: to which he told me very particularly how careful he was the very same

night that it was resolved to send for the Prince back, to cause orders to be writ, and waked the Duke, who was then in bed, to sign them; and that they went by express that very night, being the Wednesday night before the fight, which begun on the Friday; and that for sending them by the post express, and not by gentlemen on purpose, he made a sport of it, and said, I knew of none to send it with but would at least have lost more time in fitting themselves out, than any diligence of theirs beyond that of the ordinary post would have recovered. I told him that this was not so much the towne talk as the reason of dividing the fleete. To this he told me he ought not to say much; but did assure me in general that the proposition did first come from the fleet, and the resolution not being prosecuted with orders so soon as the Generall thought fit, the Generall did send Sir Edward Spragge up on purpose for them; and that there was nothing in the whole business which was not done with the full consent and advice of the Duke of Albemarle. But he did adde, (as the Catholiques call *le secret de la Masse*) that Sir Edward Spragge — who had even in Sir Christopher Mings's time, put in to be the great favourite of the Prince, but much more now had a mind to be

the great man with him, and to that end had a mind to have the Prince at a distance from the Duke of Albemarle, that they might be doing something alone—did, as he believed, put on this business of dividing the fleet, and that thence it came. He tells me as to the business of intelligence, the want whereof the world did complain much of, that for that it was not his business, and as he was therefore to have no share in the blame, so he would not meddle to lay it any where else. That De Ruyter was ordered by the States not to make it his business to come into much danger, but to preserve himself as much as was fit out of harm's way, to be able to direct the fleet. He do, I perceive, with some violence, forbear saying any thing to the reproach of the Duke of Albemarle; but, contrarily, speaks much of his courage; but I do as plainly see that he do not like the Duke of Albemarle's proceedings, but, contrarily, is displeased therewith. And he do plainly diminish the commanders put in by the Duke, and do lessen the miscarriages of any that have been removed by him. He concurs with me, that the next bout will be a fatal one to one side or other, because, if we be beaten, we shall not be able to set out our fleet again. He do confess with me that the hearts of our seamen are much saddened; and for

that reason, among others, wishes Sir Christopher Mings was alive, who might inspire courage and spirit into them. Speaking of Holmes, how great a man he is, and that he do for the present, and hath done all the voyage, kept himself in good order and within bounds; but, says he, a cat will be a cat still, and some time or other out his humours must break again. He do not disowne but that the dividing of the fleet upon the presumptions that were then had, (which, I suppose, was the French fleet being come this way,) was a good resolution.

25th. News from Sir W. Coventry that the Dutch are certainly come out. Mrs. Pen carried us to two gardens at Hackny, (which I every day grow more and more in love with,) Mr. Drake's one, where the garden is good, and house and the prospect admirable; the other my Lord Brooke's, * where the gardens are much better, but the house not so good, nor the prospect good at all. But the gardens are excellent; and here I first saw oranges grow: some green, some half, some a quarter, and some full ripe, on the same

* Robert Lord Brooke, ob. 1676. Evelyn mentions this garden as Lady Brooke's. Brooke House at Clapton, was lately occupied as a private madhouse.

tree, and one fruit of the same tree do come a year or two after the other. I pulled off a little one by stealth (the man being mightily curious of them) and eat it, and it was just as other little green small oranges are; as big as half the end of my little finger. Here were also great variety of other exotique plants, and several labarinths, and a pretty aviary.

26th. In the morning come Mr. Chichly * to Sir W. Coventry, to tell him the ill success of the guns made for the Loyall London; which is, that in the trial every one of the great guns, the whole cannon of seven (as I take it), broke in pieces.

27th. To Sir W. Coventry's chamber (where I saw his father my Lord Coventry's picture hung up, done by Stone, who then brought it home. It is a good picture, drawn in his judge's robes, and the great seal by him. And while it was hanging up, "This," says Sir W. Coventry, merrily, "is the use we make of our fathers.") But what I observed most from the discourse was this of Sir W. Coventry, that he do look upon ourselves in a desperate condition. The issue of all standing upon this one point, that by the next

* Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Chicheley, a Privy Counsellor and Commissioner of the Ordnance.

fight, if we beat, the Dutch will certainly be content to take eggs for their money, (that was his expression); or if we be beaten, we must be contented to make peace, and glad if we can have it without paying too dear for it. And withall we do rely wholly upon the Parliament's giving us more money the next sitting, or else we are undone. I did this afternoon visit my Lord Bellasses, who professes all imaginable satisfaction in me. My Lord is going down to his garrison to Hull, by the King's command, to put it in order for fear of an invasion: which course I perceive is taken upon the sea-coasts round; for we have a real apprehension of the King of France's invading us.

28th. The Dutch are now known to be out, and we may expect them every hour upon our coast. But our fleet is in pretty good readiness for them.

29th. To the office; where I met with a letter from Dover, which tells me (and it did come by express) that news is brought over by a gentleman from Callice that the Dutch fleet, 130 sail, are come upon the French coast; and that the country is bringing in picke-axes, and shovells, and wheel-barrows into Callice; that there are

6000 men armed with head, back, and breast, (Frenchmen) ready to go on board the Dutch fleet, and will be followed by 1200 more. That they pretend they are to come to Dover; and that thereupon the Governor of Dover Castle is getting the victuallers' provision out of the town into the Castle to secure it. But I do think this is a ridiculous conceit; but a little time will show.

30th. Mightily troubled all this morning with going to my Lord Mayor, (Sir Thomas Bludworth, a silly* man I think,) and other places, about getting shipped some men that they have these two last nights pressed in the City out of houses: the persons wholly unfit for sea, and many of them people of very good fashion, which is a shame to think of, and carried to Bridewell they are, yet without being impressed with money legally as they ought to be. But to see how the King's business is done; my Lord Mayor himself did scruple at this time of extremity to do this thing, because he had not money to pay the pressed-money to the men. I did out of my own purse disburse 15*l.* to pay for their pressing and diet last night and this morning; which is a

* As his conduct during the Great Fire fully proved.

thing worth record of my Lord Mayor. Busy about this all the morning, and about the getting off men pressed by our officers of the fleet into the service; even our own men that are at the office, and the boats that carry us. So that it is now become impossible to have so much as a letter carried from place to place, or any message done for us: nay, out of Victualling ships full loaden to go down to the fleet, and out of the vessels of the officers of the Ordnance, they press men, so that for want of discipline in this respect I do fear all will be undone.

July 1st. Comes Sir W. Pen to town, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me to-day; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them: and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearnesse in getting out the fleet being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke, even from the Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and made the most of to me and them by Sir W. Coventry: therefore I think it discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him. To the Tower several times, about the business

of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve at night, shipping of them. But, Lord! how some poor women did cry; and in my life I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moone-light, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides, to see poor patient labouring men and housekeepers leaving poor wives and families, taken up on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny.

2nd. Up betimes, and forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men; and indeed I find him a mean man of understanding and dispatch of any publick business. Thence out of curiosity to Bridewell to see the pressed men, where there are about 300; but so unruly that I durst not go among them: and they have reason to be so, having been kept these three days prisoners, with little or no victuals, and pressed out and contrary to all course of

law, without press-money, and men that are not liable to it. Here I met with prating Colonel Cox, one of the City collonells, heretofore a great presbyter: but to hear how the fellow did commend himself, and the service he do the King; and, like an asse, at Paul's did take me out of my way on purpose to show me the gate, (the little north gate) where he had two men shot close by him on each time, and his own hair burnt by a bullet-shot in the insurrection of Venner, and himself escaped. I found one of the vessels loaden with the Bridewell birds in a great mutiny, and they would not sail, not they; but with good words, and cajoling the ringleader into the Tower, (where, when he was come, he was clapped up in the Hole) they were got very quietly; but I think it is much if they do not run the vessel on ground.

3d. Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners of Excise, and I fell to discourse of the Parliament, and the great men there; and among others, Mr. Vaughan, whom he reports as a man of excellent judgement and learning, but most passionate and opiniastre. He had done himself the most wrong (though he values it not), that is, the displeasure of the King in his standing so long against the

breaking of the Act for a triennial parliament; but yet do believe him to be a most loyall gentleman. He told me Mr. Prin's character; that he is a man of mighty labour and reading, and memory, but the worst judge of matters, or layer together of what he hath read, in the world, (which I do not, however, believe him in; that he believes him very true to the King in his heart, but can never be reconciled to episcopacy; that the House do not lay much weight upon him, or any thing he says. News come yesterday from Harwich, that the Dutch had appeared upon our coast with their fleet, and we believe did go to the Gun-fleete, and they are supposed to be there now; but I have heard nothing of them to-day. Yesterday Dr. Whistler, at Sir W. Pen's, told me that Alexander Broome,* the great song-maker, is lately dead.

4th. Thanks be to God, the plague is, as I hear, encreased but two this week; but in the country in several places it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is be-

* Alexander Broome, an attorney in the Lord Mayor's Court, author of "Loyal Songs and Madrigals," much sung by the Cavaliers, and of a translation of Horace. He was regretted as an agreeable companion.

lieved will quite depopulate the place. With the Duke, all of us discoursing about the places where to build ten great ships: the King and Council have resolved on none to be under third-rates; but it is impossible to do it, unless we have more money towards the doing it than yet we have in any view. But, however, the show must be made to the world. In the evening Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, that the whole conduct of the late fight was ill; that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole fleet have told him so: they all saying, that they durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being called cowards, though it was wholly against their judgement to fight that day with the disproportion of force, and then we not being able to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we might very well have staid in the Downs without fighting, or any where else, till the Prince could have come up to them; or at least, till the weather was fair, that we might have the benefit of our whole force in the ships that we had. He says three things must be remedied, or else we shall be undone by this fleet. 1. That we must fight in a

line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruine: the Dutch fighting otherwise; and we, whenever we beat them.—2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a captain desperate, and he will fling away his ship, when there are no hopes left him of succour.—3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disablenesses. He told me that our very commanders, nay, our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising among themselves, and discoursing the business of commanding a fleet: he telling me that even one of our flag-men in the fleet, did not know which tacke lost the wind, or kept it, in the last engagement. He says it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the Galloper, not having their wits about them; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost. He much inveighs upon my discoursing of Sir John Lawson's saying heretofore, that sixty sail would do as much as one hundred; and says that he was a man of no counsel at all, but had got the confidence to say as the gallants did, and did propose to himself to make himself great

by them, and saying as they did; but was no man of judgement in his business, but hath been out in the greatest points that have come before them. And then in the business of fore-castles, which he did oppose, all the world sees now the use of them for shelter of men. He did talk very rationally to me, insomuch that I took more pleasure this night in hearing him discourse, than I ever did in my life in any thing that he said.

6th. I believe not less than one thousand people in the streets. But it is a pretty thing to observe that both there and every where else, a man shall see many women now-a-days of mean sort in the streets, but no men; men being so afraid of the press. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, and after dinner had much discourse about our public business; and he do seem to fear every day more and more what I do; which is a general confusion in the State; plainly answering me to the question, who is it that the weight of the warr depends upon? that it is only Sir W. Coventry. He tells me, too, the Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied, and that the Duchesse do curse Coventry as the man that betrayed her husband to the sea: though I believe that it is not so. Thence to Lumburd-streete, and received 2000*l.*, and carried it home:

whereof 1000*l.* in gold. This I do for security sake, and convenience of carriage; though it costs me above 70*l.* the change of it, at 18½d. per peece. Creed tells me he finds all things mighty dull at Court; and that they now begin to lie long in bed; it being, as we suppose, not seemly for them to be found playing and gaming as they used to be; nor that their minds are at ease enough to follow those sports, and yet not knowing how to employ themselves, (though there be work enough for their thoughts and councils and pains,) they keep long in bed. But he thinks with me, that there is nothing in the world can help us but the King's personal looking after his business and his officers, and that with that we may yet do well; but otherwise must be undone: nobody at this day taking care of any thing, nor hath any body to call him to account for it.

10th. To the office; the yard being very full of women, (I believe above three hundred) coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland; and they lay clamouring and swearing and cursing us, that my wife and I were afraid to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper to-night, to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it: but it went,

and no hurt done. To the Tower to speak with Sir John Robinson about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes.

11th. I away by coach to St. James's, and there hear that the Duchesse is lately brought to bed of a boy. By and by called to wait on the Duke, the King being present; and there agreed, among other things, of the places to build the ten new great ships ordered to be built; and as to the relief of prisoners in Holland. And then about several stories of the basenesse of the King of Spain's being served with officers: they in Flanders having as good common men as any Prince in the world, but the veriest cowards for the officers, nay for the general officers, as the Generall and Lieutenant-generall, in the whole world. But, above all things, the King did speak most in contempt of the ceremoniousnesse of the King of Spain, that he do nothing but under some ridiculous form or other. I shall get in near 2000*l.* into my own hands, which is in the King's, upon tallies; which will be a pleasure to me, and satisfaction to have a good sum in my own hands, whatever evil disturbances should be in the State; though it troubles me to lose so great a

profit as the King's interest of ten per cent. for that money.

12th. With Sir W. Coventry into London, to the office. And all the way I observed him mightily to make mirth of the Duke of Albemarle and his people about him, saying, that he was the happiest man in the world for doing of great things by sorry instruments. And so particularized in Sir W. Clerke, and Riggs, and Halsey, and others. And then again said that the only quality eminent in him was, that he did persevere; and indeed he is a very drudge, and stands by the King's business.

14th. Up betimes to the office, to write fair a laborious letter I wrote as from the Board to the Duke of York, laying out our want of money again; and particularly the business of Captain Cocke's tender of hemp, which my Lord Brouncker brought in under an unknown hand without name. Wherein his Lordship will have no great success, I doubt. That being done, I down to Thames-streete, and there agreed for four or five tons of corke, to send this day to the fleet, being a new device to make barricados with, instead of junke. After a song in the garden, which is now

the greatest pleasure I take, and indeed do please me mightily, to bed. This evening I had Davila brought home to me, and find it a most excellent history as ever I read.

16th. A wonderful dark sky, and shower of rain this morning. At Harwich a shower of hail as big as walnuts.

18th. To St. James's after my fellows; and here, among other things, before us all, the Duke of York did say, that now at length is come to a sure knowledge that the Dutch did lose in the late engagements twenty-nine captains and thirteen ships. Upon which Sir W. Coventry did publickly move, that if his Royal Highness had this of a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to the fleet, and to cause it to be spread about the fleet, for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and seamen; who are under great dejectednes, for want of knowing that they did do any thing against the enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us. Which, though it be true, yet methought was one of the most dishonourable motions to our countrymen that ever was made; and is worth remembering. Thence with Sir W. Pen home, calling at Lilly's, to have a time appointed when to be drawn among the other Commanders of Flags the last

year's fight. And so full of work Lilly is, that he was fain to take his table-book out to see how his time is appointed, and appointed six days hence for him to come between seven and eight in the morning. Thence with him home; and there by appointment I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limericke, in Ireland; whom I knew in his low condition at Twittenham, and find the Bishop the same good man that ever; and in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life. During dinner comes an acquaintance of his, Sir Thomas Littleton;* whom I knew not while he was in my house, but liked his discourse: and afterwards, by Sir W. Pen, do come to know that he is one of the greatest speakers in the House of Commons, and the usual second to the great Vaughan. So was sorry I did observe him no more, and gain more of his acquaintance. Walked to Woolwich, reading "the Rivall Ladys"† all the way, and find it a most pleasant and fine writ play.

19th. Full of wants of money, and much stores

* Afterwards made Treasurer of the Navy in conjunction with Sir Thomas Osborn.

† A Tragi-comedy by Dryden.

to buy, for to replenish the stores, and no money to do it with. The fleet is sailed this morning; God send us good news of them!

21st. At noon walked in the garden with Commissioner Pett, (newly come to town) who tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleet. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and every body doing what they please; and the Generalls, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragge and Capt. Seamons.* He tells me that captains carry, for all the late orders, what men they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty can bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in: he observing to me too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleet; and the truth is, that the gentlemen captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.

22d. Walked to White Hall, where saw nobody

* *Query*, Seymour?

almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May,* who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravell in the world, France having none, nor Italy; and our green of our bowling allies is better than any they have. So our business here being ayre, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or greene as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves; besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use. Sir Richard Fanshaw is lately dead at Madrid. The fleet cannot get clear of the River, but expect the first wind to be out, and then to be sure to fight. The Queene and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

23d. All full of expectation of the fleet's engagement, but it is not yet. Sir W. Coventry

* An architect, and Comptroller of the works at Windsor Castle. Ob. 1684.

says they are eighty-nine men-of-war, but one fifth-rate; and that the Sweepstakes, which carries forty guns. They are most infinitely manned. He tells me the Loyal London, Sir J. Smith (which, by the way, he commends to be the best ship in the world, large and small) hath above eight hundred men; and moreover takes notice, which is worth notice, that the fleet hath lain now near fourteen days without any demand for a farthing-worth of any thing of any kind, but only to get men. He also observes, that with this excess of men, nevertheless, they have thought fit to leave behind them sixteen ships, which they have robbed of their men, which certainly might have been manned, and they have been serviceable in the fight, and yet the fleet well-manned, according to the excess of supernumeraries, which we hear they have. At least two or three of them might have been left manned, and sent away with the Gottenburgh ships. They conclude this to be much the best fleet, for force of guns, greatness and number of ships and men, that ever England did see; being as Sir W. Coventry reckons, besides those left behind, eighty-nine men of-war, and twenty fire-ships, though we cannot hear that they have with them above eighteen. The French are

not yet joined with the Dutch, which do dissatisfy the Hollanders, and if they should have a defeat, will undo De Witt; the people generally of Holland do hate this league with France.

25th. At White Hall; we find the Court gone to Chapel, it being St. James's-day. And by and by, while they are at chapel, and we waiting chapel being done, come people out of the Park, telling us that the guns are heard plainly. And so every body to the Park, and by and by the chapel done, and the King and Duke into the bowling-green, and upon the leads, whither I went, and there the guns were plain to be heard; though it was pretty to hear how confident some would be in the lowdnesse of the guns, which it was as much as ever I could do to hear them. By and by the King to dinner, and I waited there his dining; but, Lord! how little I should be pleased, I think, to have so many people crowding about me; and among other things it astonished me to see my Lord Barkeshire* waiting at table, and serving the King drink, in that dirty pickle as I never saw man in

* Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas first Earl of Suffolk, created Earl of Berkshire 1625-6, K. G. Ob. 1669, aged nearly 90.

my life. Here I met Mr. Williams, who would have me to dine where he was invited to dine, at the Backe-stayres. So after the King's meat was taken away, we thither; but he could not stay, but left me there among two or three of the King's servants, where we dined with the meat that come from his table; which was most excellent, with most brave drink cooled in ice, (which at this hot time was welcome,) and I drinking no wine, had metheglin for the King's own drinking, which did please me mightily.

27th. To Sir W. Coventry's lodging, and there he showed me Captain Talbot's letter, wherein he says that the fight begun on the 25th: that our White squadron begun with one of the Dutch squadrons, and then the Red with another, so hot that we put them both to giving way, and so they continued in pursuit all the day, and as long as he stayed with them: that the blow fell to the Zealand squadron; and after a long dispute, he against two or three great ships, received eight or nine dangerous shots, and so come away; and says, he saw the Resolution burned by one of their fire-ships, and four or five of the enemy's. But says that two or three of our great ships were in danger of being fired

by our fire-ships, which Sir W. Coventry nor I cannot understand. But upon the whole, he and I walked two or three turns in the Park under the great trees, and do doubt that this gallant is come away a little too soon, having lost never a mast nor sail. And then we did begin to discourse of the young genteel captains, which he was very free with me in speaking his mind of the unruliness of them; and what a loss the King hath of his old men, and now of this Hannam, of the Resolution, if he be dead. He told me how he is disturbed to hear the commanders at sea called cowards here on shore.

28th. To my Lord Lauderdale's, where we find some Scotch people at supper. Pretty odd company; though my Lord Brouncker tells me, my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgement. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the viallin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them, by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew, than the best musique in the world; and the

better the musique, the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and next to that, the baggpipe.

29th. All the town is full of a victory. By and by a letter from Sir W. Coventry tells me that we have the victory. Beat them into the Weelings; had taken two of their great ships; but by the orders of the Generalls they are burned. This being, methought, but a poor result after the fighting of two so great fleets, and four days having no tidings of them: I was still impatient; but could know no more. I to Sir W. Batten, where the Lieutenant of the Tower was, and Sir John Minnes, and the news I find is what I had heard before; only that our Blue squadron, it seems, was pursued the most of the time, having more ships, a great many, than its number allotted to its share. Young Seamour is killed, the only captain slain. The Resolution burned; but, as they say, most of her crew and commander saved. This is all, only we keep the sea, which denotes a victory, or at least that we are not beaten; but no great matters to brag of, God knows.

30th. To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, where I find him in his new closet, which is very

fine, and well supplied with handsome books. I find him speak very slightly of the late victory: dislikes their staying with the fleet up their coast, believing that the Dutch will come out in fourteen days, and then we with our unready fleet, by reason of some of the ships being maymed, shall be in bad condition to fight them upon their own coast: is much dissatisfied with the great number of men, and their fresh demands of twenty-four victualling ships, they going out the other day as full as they could stow. He spoke slightly of the Duke of Albemarle, saying, when De Ruyter come to give him a broadside—"Now," says he, (chewing of tobacco the while) "will this fellow come and give me two broadsides, and then he shall run;" but it seems he held him to it two hours, till the Duke himself was forced to retreat to refit, and was towed off, and De Ruyter staid for him till he come back again to fight. One in the ship saying to the Duke, "Sir, methinks De Ruyter hath given us more than two broadsides;" —"Well," says the Duke, "but you shall find him run by and by," and so he did, says Sir W. Coventry; but after the Duke himself had been first made to fall off. The Resolution had all brass guns, being the same that Sir J. Lawson

had in her in the Straights. It is observed, that the two fleets were even in number to one ship. Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer * in the garden; and coming in I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her. Which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl do take musick mighty readily, and she do not, and musick is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.

31st. The Court empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York a-hunting. I had some discourse with Povy, who is mightily discontented, I find, about his disappointments at Court; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here. No faith, no truth, no love, nor any agreement between man and wife, nor friends. He would have spoke broader, but I put it off to another time; and so parted. Povy discoursed with me about my Lord Peterborough's 50*l.* which his man did give me from him, the last year's salary I paid him, which he would have

* Mrs. Pepys's maid.

Povy pay him again ; but I have not taken it to myself yet, and therefore will most heartily return him, and mark him out for a coxcomb. Povy went down to Mr. Williamson's, and brought me up this extract out of the Flanders' letters to day come :—That Admiral Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland, with many captains and men, are slain ; that De Ruyter is safe, but lost 250 men out of his own ship ; but that he is in great disgrace, and Trump in better favour ; that Bankert's ship is burned, himself hardly escaping with a few men on board De Haes ; that fifteen captains are to be tried the seventh of August ; and that the hangman was sent from Flushing to assist the Council of Warr. How much of this is true, time will show.

END OF VOL. II.

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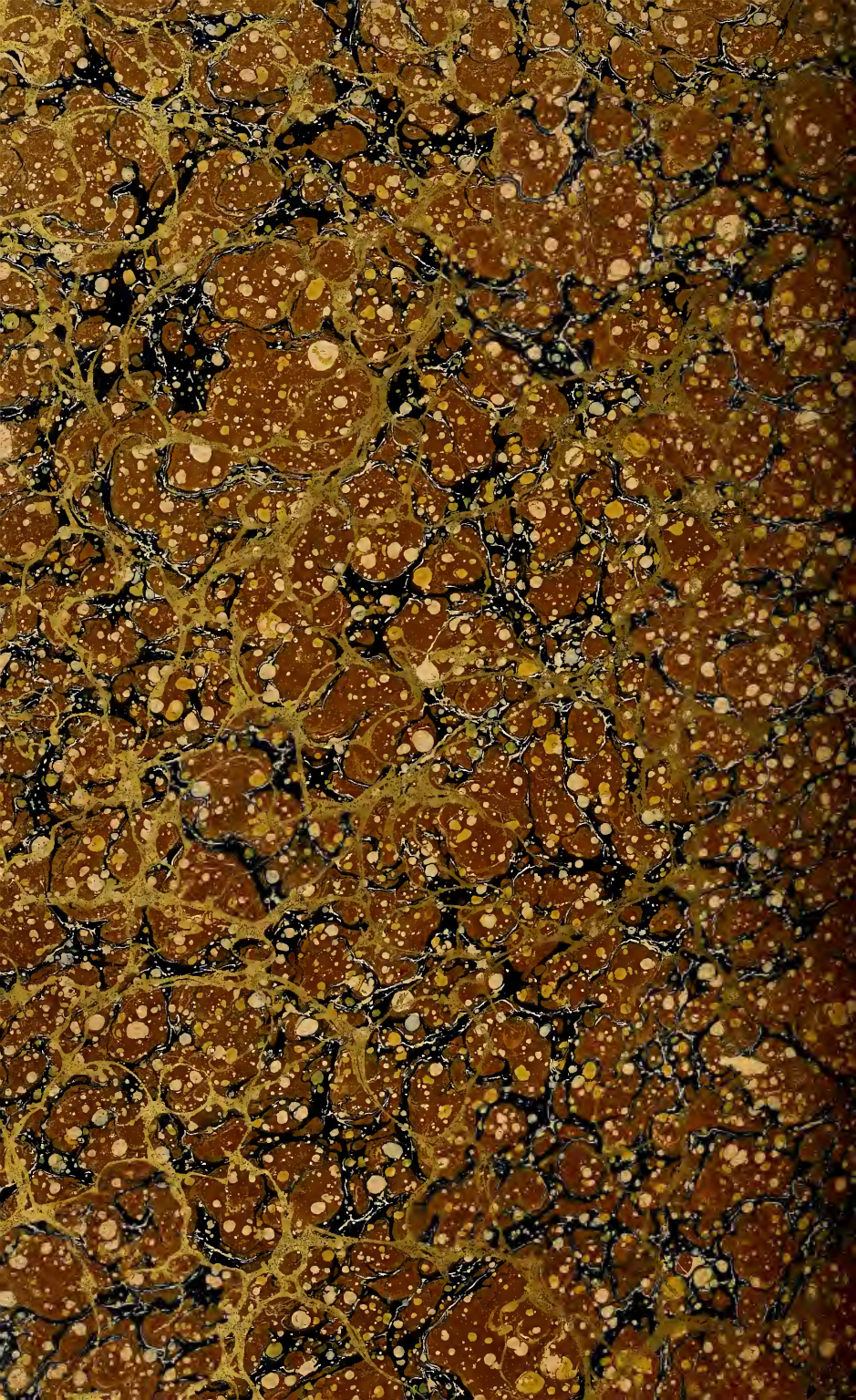

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